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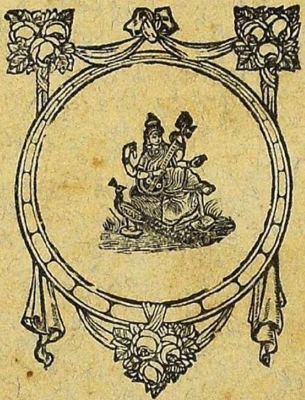

July—September 1938

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BRAHMANIC SURVIVALS IN SIAM

BY

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(1) *Introduction.*

Among the Indian culture-colonies so widely spread out in South-east Asia and the adjacent Archipelago, Siam possesses a peculiar importance on account of its retention, even at the present day, of an appreciable quantity of Brahmanic ritual and ceremonial. Of this quantity, a great proportion is associated with the ceremonies and functions of the royal court; and it is an obvious fact that Brahmanical influences, transmitted from the highly Brahmanised Khmers Cambodia to the Thais of Siam, were most impressed on the royalty and aristocracy and continue to survive to some extent, though superimposed on, and supplanted by, Buddhism. The Menam valley was, at the beginning of the Christian era, in the hands of the Mon-Khmers whose sway embraced, at one time, the whole of the fan of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, from Cambodia to Southern Burma. They were gradually replaced by the Sino-Tibetan race of the Lao (Lava)-Thais, the ancestors of the modern Siamese who advanced from the north and contrived to secure dominion over the whole of the delta of the Menam and over Cambodia and the Malay Peninsula as well.

At a later stage, the combined tribes of the Khmers and the Lao-Thais established the powerful kingdom of Sukothai-Sawan-Kalok (Sukhōdaya and Sajjanālaya), wherein prevailed a Hindu culture embodying both Buddhist and Brahmanical elements and contributed chiefly by the Khmers of the South. This kingdom flourished for several centuries and reached the zenith of its glory and power in the eleventh century.

There was another kingdom in the South, that of Lopburi (Lapapuri), which formed a part of the Cambodian hegemony, known to the Chinese as Fu-nan and even extended to Southern Burma and a greater part of the Malay Peninsula, *i.e.* from

Thaton-Pegu to Kedah and Ligor (Śrī Dharmarāja Nagara). The chief city of this kingdom was Dvāravatī, afterwards Sano and later the site of Ayuthia. There was a fresh invasion of the Thais at the beginning of the 13th century, owing to the northern pressure of the Mongols who pressed on South China in their turn. About the end of that century the Thais had come to occupy the whole of the Menam valley and to ravage Cambodia. Subsequently they got portions of the Malay Peninsula from Śrī Vijaya; and their power actually came to extend to the Straits of Malacca about 1400 A. D. It is these that built the city of Ayuthia, about 1350 A. D., on the site of Sano, under a prince of the name of Rāmādhipati. The kingdom of Sukhōdaya lost much of its territory already; and its last remnants passed under the sway of Ayuthia about 1400 A. D.

(2) *Modern Siam.*

Thus the modern kingdom of Siam came into being; and the splendour of the royal city of Ayuthia began to wax; it remained the capital for four centuries till it was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767; and, after a time, the capital was transferred to Bangkok. The political history of Siam is full of bloody wars with Burma on the West and less serious struggles with Cambodia on the East. Friendly intercourse was maintained with Ceylon; and it was mostly of a religious character. In 1431 King Paramarāja II captured the Khmer capital of Ankor Thom and brought about a large influx of Khmer statesmen and Brahmans into the Siamese capital. His successor, King Paramatrailōkanātha (1448-88), completely reorganised the administrative system and supplanted the old feudalism. King Narēśvara was the hero of resistance against the Burmese; and he further consolidated the power of the central government. This monarch saved the country from Burmese occupation which lasted fifteen years (1569-84) and consolidated it by further victories during his reign (1590-1605). The resuscitation of Siam after its second Burmese conquest in 1767 was effected by one, Brahyā Tak, who was deposed, after some time, by one of his generals, Cau Brahyā Cākri, the founder of the present ruling dynasty of Bangkok. Both Brahyā Tak and Brahyā Cākri recalled the exiled officials and court-Brahmans who had held office before the fall of Ayuthia and restored the national institutions as they had existed. The founder of the Bangkok dynasty of the Cākris, who took the name of Rāma, and his two successors of

the same name showed little inclination for foreign contact. The 4th ruler, Rāma IV (1851-68), was also a supporter of the indigenous cultural institutions, though he opened up diplomatic intercourse with the European nations. Thus Siam remained Old Siam till 1868 when a new era of rapid material progress began.

(3) *Old Brahmanism and Buddhism.*

Hīnayāna Buddhism was accepted as the national religion at Sukhōdaya in the 13th century. We learn from inscriptions that King Dharmarāja I (1347-*cir.* 1370) was well versed "in the *Tripiṭaka*, in Hindu ritual, skilled in astrology and able to cast the calendar." He established a school for Buddhist and Brahman priests and despatched a mission to Ceylon to bring away certain Buddhist relics; and, Aśoka-like, he actually became a monk at the end of his life.

When King Rāma Gāmhen ascended the throne of the newly-formed Thai state, he opened up political relations with China. Hīnayāna Buddhism was now accepted as the national Siamese religion. Rāma Gāmhen has left a famous stele, in which we read the following:—

> "On days other than those on which the (Buddhist) precepts are recited, King (*bā khun*) Rāma Gāmhen sovereign (*cau moa'n*) of Śrī Sajjanālai and Sukhodai, seats himself on this stone slab, and presiding over the assembly of nobles and dignitaries (*lūk cau lūk khun*) discusses with them the affairs of state."

> "In the entrance of the gate (of the palace) a bell is hung up; if a subject of the realm has any trouble or any matter that distresses him within or torments his heart, and which he wishes to declare to his prince, there is no difficulty. He has only to ring the bell that is suspended there. Whenever King Rāma Gāmhen hears this appeal, he questions (the plaintiff) concerning his case (and decides it) according to the right."[1]

The audience-bell persisted in Siam until much later times; in Cambodia it is said to have lingered till the 19th century. Probably the custom was derived from India as the *Mahāvaṁśa*

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1. Coedes—*Les Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*—quoted from, by B. Quaritch Wales in (1) *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration* (p. 69) and (2) *Siamese State Ceremonies* (p. 190).

states that "at the head of his bed he had a bell hung up with a long rope so that those who desired a judgment at law might ring it."

(4) *Intercourse with Ceylon.*

It is said that King Dharmarāja I was animated by a great desire to emulate the actions and conduct of the great king, Parākrama Bāhu, of Ceylon who lived shortly before the epoch of king Rāma Gāmhen. About 1360, the Siamese king sent to Ceylon for a Hīnayāna abbot; the contact was strengthened by the importation of a branch of the Bodhi tree and various sacred Bauddha relics from Ceylon and India. From this time onwards, the Siamese monks were able to trace back their apostolic succession, through the Mahāvihāra of Anūrādhāpura, to Prince Mahinda, the great Aśokan Apostle of the Island Buddhist Church.

The religious connection with Ceylon was continued; and we hear of the despatch of a religious mission from Ayuthia in 1753 in response to the request of an embassy from Ceylon, "to bring about the purification of the Buddhist faith which was said to be effete there." "And this most virtuous lord (Kīrti Rāja Sinha of Ceylon, *acc.* 1747 A.D.)...with the desire only to perpetuate the religion of the Great Sage, sent ministers with divers presents and offerings, and an excellent letter to the noble City of Ayojjha for the purpose of bringing priests therefrom, in the 2293rd year of the Parinibbāṇa of the Buddha... and those ministers departed hence in a ship with the Dutch people...and the wise king Dhammika (of Siam) who had devoted his life to the support of the religion and the practice of the ten *Pāramis*...was astonished to hear of the decay of the Buddhist religion in Laṅkā...called together the Saṅgha Rāja and many other great elders of the kingdom of Siam who were skilled and learned in the Doctrine and the Law....and chose a chapter consisting of more than ten priests at the head of whom was Upali...and the king sent in charge of them books of the Dhamma and the Vinaya such as were not to be found in the island of Laṅkā, and also an excellent royal letter, with divers presents, by the hands of the royal ministers of Ayojjha."[1] Again we read of the king of Siam sending, supplementarily, a

1. *The Mahāvaṁśa* tr. by Wijesinha and Turnour, (1889), Ch. c.—pp. 360 *et seq.*

chapter of priests exceeding ten in number, headed by two elders, Mahā Viśuddhācārya and Varañaṇamuni who were set up in the Pupphārama monastery in Ceylon. In return for the despatch of Siamese priests on two occasions, the king of Laṅkā sent to Ayuthia "a likeness of the Tooth-Relic, an image of the Conqueror made out of a very precious stone, a conch-shell with the whorls thereof to the right and numerous other gifts;" and King Dhammika was glad to receive these gifts and was "greatly delighted, as if he had obtained the Tooth-Relic itself." The Buddha image is still to be seen in one of the temples of Siam. In return, the Siamese monarch gave "numerous books that were not to be found in Laṅkā, and a beautiful likeness of the print of Buddha's foot (Siripāda) and a golden pavilion (of small size), and umbrellas as offerings to the Tooth-Relic, and presents of diverse beautiful and lovely things meet to be used by kings" and also an excellent letter setting forth the reasons for the continuance of the friendship between the two kings.[1]

It is surmised by scholars that Southern Siam should have had contact with Eastern India and Ceylon through the Malay Peninsula; and the Pali Buddhism of Northern Siam should have also followed this route. Sir Charles Eliot thinks that it was only subsequent to the middle of the 18th century that the Siamese Buddhist Church recognised the seniority and authority of the Singhalese Buddhist Church, and that, in earlier times, the Siamese could have had hardly any direct relation with Ceylon; when they were subject to Cambojan influence they must have felt the influence of Chinese Buddhism and probably also that of Mahāyāna Sanskrit Buddhism. As there was no trace of Pali Buddhism in Camboja until it was imported from Siam, the Pali creed should have spread into Southern Siam only through contact with Burma and the Malay Peninsula.

(5) *Ceremonial Survivals of Brahmanic Influences.*

There is a curious inscription engraved on an image of Śiva, found at Sukhōdaya and dated 1510 A. D. It asserts the identity of Buddhism and Brahmanism. At Lopburi, ancient buildings, originally constructed for the Brahmanical cult, became later adapted to Buddhistic uses. Among the numerous national

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1. *The Mahāvaṁśa*, p. 367; and The *Culavaṁśa*—Part II tr. by W. Geiger and by Mrs. C. N. Rickmers, (1930), pp. 288-89.

festivals, a few still retain traces of their distinct Brahmanic origin. Among these is the ploughing festival, "recalling to our mind the Nidānakathā, in which the Buddha's father celebrated an imposing ploughing ceremony." Another is the swinging festival, evidently a harvest thanksgiving; and a third is the *Loi-Kathang*—a float-raft festival, when miniature rafts and ships bearing lights and offerings are sent down the Menam to the sea. Some distinctly Hindu *saṁskāras* are still being observed by the nations of Indo-China, like the ear-boring ceremony and the *nāma-karaṇam* (name-giving) ceremony. The tonsure ceremony is a rite of initiating youth and is the most important of the Hindu *saṁskāras* still surviving in Siam. Mr. Quaritch Wales and earlier writers like Gerini find a close relationship between the coronation and the tonsure ceremonies and hold that the tonsure of a prince of rank is an imposing state ceremony deemed second only to the coronation of a king. There is a parallelism between the two ceremonies; and perhaps both are derived from some earlier common rite of installation. The Brahmanical rites connected with this ceremony were introduced about the 9th century and have passed through the Sukhōdaya and the Ayuthia epochs into the present or Bangkok period. It has been greatly superseded by the *sāmaṇera* or Buddhist novice initiation which is a part of the living religion of the people.

The main features of the royal cremation ceremonies are held to imitate the ritual favoured by the Buddhist kings of Ceylon and to have endured from the time of the Sukhōdaya period; but "since the early Siamese kings were imbued with the Khmer cult of the Deva-Rāja, the Hindu-Buddhist rites of Ceylon were grafted on to a very evident substratum of Khmer Brahmanism." The *Satāpakaraṇa* rite is still practised in Ceylon. It is held by Quaritch Wales that the present Siamese royal cremation has not changed greatly since it took shape in the 13th-14th centuries, when Sinhalese Buddhist influences were definitely established, being grafted on to the Khmer cult of the Deva-Rāja and founded on Indian Brahmanism transmitted through Śrī Vijaya and inherited by the first Thai kings.

The *Tulābhāra* of the king was performed at Ayuthia in the 9th lunar month (Śrāvaṇa) of the year, but fell into disuse about the middle of the 18th century. The king and queen were both weighed; and the royal alms were given to the Brahmans. The

festival of the *Baruṇa Satra* (Rain or Varuṇa Festival) has continued on from the days of Sukhōdaya and was entirely Brahnical, until as late as the Bangkok period when Buddhist modifications appeared in it. It is celebrated in the month of Śrāvaṇa when the commencement of the rains is urgently needed for the rice-crop. "It is difficult to trace the path along which this Siamese ceremony has journeyed from India by reason of the fact that perhaps no Brahmanic ceremony shows greater variations in detail in the various countries influenced by Indian civilisation." This ceremony appears to be derived independently from India and to be made up largely of Tāntric rites.

The ceremony of the speeding of the outflow of flood-water, usually performed only in years of unusually heavy rainfall, is also supposed to be of Brahmanic origin, though no Brahmans took part in it. There is a closely similar rite in Cambodia; and according to Quaritch Wales, the Siamese form of the ceremony is Brahmanic and was derived from India, probably through Cambodia. The *Dhānya-dāha* (burning of the ears of paddy) was a state ceremony of harvest thanks-giving in the month of Māgha. It was elaborately conducted in the Sukhōdaya and Ayuthia periods and included a mock fight between the followers of Indra and those of Brahmā for the possession of the ceremonial umbrella of paddy which was set fire to. There was also the supplementary ceremony of carrying the paddy home. The latter was, perhaps, a Siamese addition to the former; and the former, practised also in Cambodia, has been attempted to be traced back to the Vedic offering of first fruits or *Āgrayaṇeṣṭi* described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Evidently the ceremony is the development of a ritual, a later stage of the primitive concept of Sacrament of First Fruits.

In another festival, known as *Bidhi Śārada*, which means merely the Feasting Ceremony, Mr. Wales could discern, on the basis of an old book, elements of a nucleus Brahmanic festival in which special food prepared by the Brahmans was offered to the gods and the manes and which very likely corresponded to the Hindu śrāddhas. A similar ceremony observed in Cambodia pays more attention to deceased ancestors than is now the case in Siam. According to Gerini, at the beginning of every domestic ceremony, oblations, similar to those of the Hindu

śrāddhas, are offered in Siam to the gods and the *pitṛs*.[1] The festival has been attempted to be traced also to the *Śākamedha* offerings of Vedic literature, the *Śākamedha* being a seasonal liturgy inaugurating the beginning of autumn; and the latter was probably an autumnal *āgrayaṇa* festival. Thus the original meaning of *śārada* was lost in Siam and Cambodia, as there was no noteworthy autumn harvest there, the rice-harvest being celebrated by the *Dhānya-dāha* in *Māgha*. "Thus, while Indian colonists brought with them their autumnal festival of the first fruits and perhaps sought to graft it on to some indigenous sacrament of the first fruits transposed from another time of the year, in an effort to keep up the customs of their fatherland, the endeavour was doomed to failure because this was not the rice harvest season in Siam."

The Swinging Festival, performed in the second month, and earlier in the first month, was an important state-ceremony from the Sukhōdaya period. It symbolised the stay of Śiva on earth for fifteen days, attended by the Sun and the Moon, the Earth and the Ganges, as well as by other lesser gods. Śiva is impersonated by a high state official who proceeds at the head of a mighty procession—now transformed into a kind of Siamese Lord Mayor's Show—goes on the seventh day of the waning moon to the swing-place and offers suitable rewards to the swingers who are supposed to be *nāgas*. The theory has been put forward that the festival was originally a sun ceremony and Śiva came to be substituted for Sūrya; again it has been fantastically imagined that the swinging symbolises the churning of the ocean, the swing-posts representing Mount Mēru and the ropes the serpent

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1. "The offering of *Khāu dibya* to the *pitṛs* and the *gurus* (deceased spiritual professors) is, as already stated, no longer taken seriously, but at least until the modern revivals, it was always the custom to expose some of the food on tables, especially at the cross-roads....... These offerings are the same as Hindu *śrāddhas*, and the food thus offered is called *Khāu piṇḍa*. But the Siamese do not distinguish between the Hindu *Ēkōddiṣṭa-śrāddha* offerings to the *prētas*, *i.e.* the spirits of those who have recently died and are wandering as ghosts, and the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* offerings due to those who have escaped from that stage and joined the company of the 'fathers'. The Siamese *piṇḍa* offerings are made indiscriminately to all spirits of the dead" (p. 234 of *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 1931).

Śeṣa. The Brahman temples in Bangkok witness a great amount of ritual in the course of this festival, similar to those performed in connection with the coronation; and the Court Brahmans officiate as *Bṛhaspati* and others and help in the following public tonsure ceremony to which people bring their children and which is performed free of charge.

In what is known as the Ceremony of the First Ploughing which should happen on a day in Vaiśākha, both Buddhistic monks and Brahmans carry the images of their respective gods to the paddy fields of the Crown; and therein, the King's deputy, usually the minister for agriculture, ceremonially ploughs three concentric furrows and then three more. The ploughing festival is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as well as in the *Jātakas*; and it also prevailed in Burma and China. The part played by the Brahmans in the ceremony evidently means that it was derived from Indian usage, though it might well have been that the early Thais might have adopted a Chinese form of the rite.

The feast of lamps when the king sprinkled lustral water on lamp-posts and lighted them with candles, both prepared by Brahmans, must have been originally a Brahmanic ceremony. Three of these posts represented Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā; and the next three possibly represented their *śaktis*, though they were later given a Buddhistic significance. This feast is celebrated at the same time as the Hindu Dīpāvaḷi; and it was kept up for long after its object was forgotten. The Kārtikēya festival, celebrated in the month of Kārttika till the end of the last century, is worth notice, being in reality the counterpart of the previous festival. The worship and regard paid to the White Elephant, the extinct ceremony of the worship of the Sacred Bull, the festival of Śivarātri which took place on the full moon day of Māgha, the Mēṣa Saṅkrānti when the king takes a ceremonial bath of purification—these are among rites that have a Hindu or Brahmanic origin.

(6) *Origin of these Influences.*

Most of the ceremonies noticed above are associated with the king and have a substratum of Brahmanism which was mainly "derived from Cambodia where similar Brahmanic ceremonies are performed to this day." Hindu influences came to Siam mainly through the earlier Indianised kingdoms of Dvāravatī, Śrī Vijaya and Cambodia. Even after the definite introduction

of Hīnayāna Buddhism from Ceylon in the 13th and 14th centuries, "royal ceremonial remained predominantly Hindu, since the Thai rulers sought to imitate the splendour of their former Khmer suzerains." Hindu influences persisted in the life of Siam as late as the reign of Nārāyaṇa (1656-84) who favoured Brahmanism. The growing hold of Buddhism which culminated in the reign of king Rāma IV (1851-68), is seen in the Buddhist modifications that went into nearly every state ceremony, though "many of the ideas contained in the later Buddhist modifications are extremely ancient and were probably introduced in imitation of the forms in use among the early Buddhist kings of Ceylon." Many of these ceremonies, though relating to the king, have a value for the people and for the conception of the integrity of the state, and indicate the stress laid on the divine nature and position of the king, this itself being largely built on the Khmer conception of the Dēva-Rāja and of the deification of kings, which in turn was "only a highly specialised form of an earlier conception of Indian divine kingship."

The rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Cambodia did not bring a great reaction against the cult of the Dēva-Rāja, although Buddhistic deities supplanted the Brahmanical ones to a considerable extent. When Hīnayānism rose up, the Mahāyānist deities ceased to be recognised; but the Hindu gods which continued to be used on ceremonial occasions, particularly in the coronation ceremony in Siam, became "reduced to the rank of spirits ministering to the Buddha or demi-gods ruling over the inferior heavens." They were indeed fitted into the Buddhistic scheme of things which developed the conception of the king as a Bōdhisattva or an incipient Buddha or else a Cakravartin or universal monarch. This belief of the present-day orthodox Buddhism of Siam is "derived proximately from imitation of the great Sinhalese kings and is strengthened in the minds of the people by the evidence of the popular Indian *Jātaka* stories."[1] The Buddhist king of Siam would not willingly agree to be regarded as being animated by the spirits of Śiva and Viṣṇu or as being enthroned, Śiva-like, on Kailāsa or Meru. The old Brahmanic-tinged court ceremonial of Siam continued largely unaltered till the time of King Rāma IV (1851-68) who was the last monarch of the old school and had the reputation of an extremely learned and pious man.

1. Quaritch Wales—*Siamese State Ceremonies*, pp. 30-31.

(7) *The Brahmans of Siam at the present time.*

The Brahman priests who are now attached to the court of Bangkok, still dress in white and are preserving, in their ritualistic life, many Hindu usages. They wear their hair long, in the form of a chignon, and also the sacred thread on ceremonial occasions. They represent both the Vaiṣṇava (*Brāhmaṇa Bṛdhipasā*) and the Śaiva (*Brāhmaṇa Bidhī*) sects and have three temples in Bangkok dedicated to Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Nārāyaṇa. The altar of the Śiva temple is most elaborate and contains a number of images including the Dancing Lord (Naṭarāja), Śiva astride the Sacred Bull and Umā. Some images of Harihara, removed now to the National Museum, were formerly housed here and are said to be definitely of the Coḷa period. There are some large images of Gaṇeśa in the middle temple and one of Viṣṇu in the last. These Brahmans do not understand Sanskrit; but they have corrupt Sanskrit texts and a Tamil hymn, written usually in an Indian character, which some say they are able to read, but do not understand. There are instructions in Siamese for the performance of the temple rites, of which a portion is not available. The Brahmans mumble both instructions and *mantras* indiscriminately. There is now no daily worship in the temples; and the state ceremonies are performed with the aid of written instructions. The Sanskrit texts are said to contain a quantity of quotations from the Three Vedas (*Trai Beda*) and the Śāstras, but not from the Atharva Veda.

According to Mr. P. S. Sastri, the Indian Sanskrit scholar on the staff of the Royal Institute at Bangkok, the Brahmanical Mss. in the possession of the National Library at the capital, refer to "the preliminary rites used for all state ceremonies, the instructions being in Siamese, the *mantras* in corrupt Sanskrit, written usually in the Indian character, but sometimes in Siamese." The Indian script of the *mantras* is, according to Dr. L. D. Barnett, Pāṇḍyan (Grantha?) and can be ascribed to a period not later than the 13th century. Besides, the Mss. include a Tamil *mantra* (opening the portals of Kailāsa) and a few *yantra* diagrams. The *mantras* are said to retain traces of metrical composition and of perfectly correct Sanskrit words. Owing to the predominant Buddhist influence, the court Brahmans have got to pass the novitiate as Buddhist monks before they can undergo their own ceremony of initiation (*pvaj Braṭ*)

comprehending two stages, the taking of the cord of three strings and the subsequent wearing of the cord of six strings.

(8) *Decay of Brahmanic Influence.*

Traces of Brahmanism are found in other places in Siam like Nāgara Śrī Dharmarāja and Batahlun in the Peninsula, in the shape of temples. The Thais recruited their Brahmans from Khmer Cambodia.

King Dharmarāja had a knowledge of the Vedas, as already told. King Dharmaśōkarāja (*cir.* 1510 A. D.) desired to exalt both Hinduism and Buddhism, according to an inscription on the Śiva statue at Kamben Bejra. Court Brahmans seemed to have been recruited by the kings of the Ayuthia period both from Cambodia and from places in the Malay Peninsula. When Ayuthia was destroyed by the Burmese and its Brahmans fled to Śrīnagara Dharmarāja (1767 A. D.), their tradition was destroyed; and King Brahya Tak of Dhanpuri who restored Siamese independence and ruled from 1767 to 1782, preceding the establishment of the Cakri dynasty, could not make good the restoration of the Brahman priests. When the Cakri kings of Bangkok came to power, the Brahmans who were recruited came from Ligor and even from South India; and hence the modern Siamese Brahmans are "not the relics of a once powerful religious caste; but have been brought in later (from Ligor Nāgara Śrī Dharmarāja and elsewhere) to conduct the court ceremonies in imitation of other courts with an Indian ceremonial."[1] Thus John Crawfurd who was sent as envoy to the courts of Siam and Cochin-China by the Indian Government in 1821-22, says that he saw at Bangkok three Hindu temples in one enclosure, one of which had fifteen large handsome images, including a nine-feet high figure of Mahādeva, and figures of Pārvatī, Padmi, Viṣṇu and Brahmā. The second was dedicated to Gaṇeśa; and the third "appeared to be dedicated to the worshp of the Liṅga of which there was a large gilded figure in the centre of the altar, surrounded by forty or fifty small brass images—such as those of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nārāyaṇa, Hanumān, the Bull Nandi, etc."[2] Crawfurd was told that these images were brought at

1. Quoted from Aymonier by Quaritch Wales in his *Siamese State Ceremonies.*

2. *Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China*—2 Vols. (1830)—Vol. I. pp. 182-83.

different times from Western India (*i.e.* India). The Brahman priest, one of several, so Crawfurd was informed, was fifth in descent from his ancestor who had first settled in Siam and came from the island of Rāmeśvaram. The principal Brahman at Bangkok in his time was Prah-Mahārāja-Kro-putra-guru, being the son of the first of his family that came to Siam about seventy years ago. These emigrants from Rāmeśvaram came without their families and intermarried with the women of the country. They were all priests and soldiers and of the Śaiva sect. They had lost the use of the language of their forefathers, but had books in the Sanskrit language and "in the provincial character of their original country." They honoured Buddha, not as a god, but as a saint of great reputation. Their learning was small, and they lived mainly upon their reputation for astronomical knowledge, "being constantly consulted by the court and by persons of rank, to give prognostications, for astrology, as an art, is forbidden to the Talapoins." It was from these Tamil Brahmans that La Loubere[1] obtained the first Indian astronomical tables brought to Europe, which excited a great amount of curiosity.

The Brahmans told Crawfurd that the images in their temples were brought to Siam from Western India (*i.e.* India lying across the Bay of Bengal) in the year 765 of the vulgar era of the Siamese, corresponding to 1406, *i.e.*, really one century before the Europeans found their way into Siam.

Crawfurd describes the tonsure of the eldest son of the Siamese noble, in the celebration of which the Brahmans acted as astrologers. He also tells us that the Brahmans ate food prepared by Siamese cooks and containing flesh, eggs and other articles which would have been an abomination to their ancestors. Anyhow he postulates a migration of South Indian Brahmans in the 15th century, long before the second known migration in the 18th century.

(9) *The Brahmanic Element in Siamese Laws.*

Siamese administrative laws and edicts are said to be deeply impressed with early Khmer influences, largely dating from the time of the reorganisation of the administrative system by king Paramatrailōkanātha, like the hierarchy laws of A.D. 1854. But the general principles of Siamese law seem to be Hindu. One

1. He brought out in 1693, *A New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam.*

writer opines that the Mons and the Khmers were the sources from whom the Thais received most of their Indian culture and that the Mon-Burmese law represents a stage between Hindu law and Siamese law which is not directly derived from India, but by the medium of the Mon-Burmese forms.[1]

A Pāli *Dharmaśāstra* was introduced into the land about A. D. 1344, and the king probably appointed a Brahman to help him in the interpretation of this imported system of law. After the Thai capture of Angkor Thom, Brahman jurists were imported from Cambodia, who were learned in Hindu law. Even in the Corpus of Siamese law, drawn up in 1805, compiled under the orders of King Rāma I of the Cākri dynasty of Bangkok, we are told that the object was only to restore the legislation that was in force in the Ayuthia period; and the first law-chapter is entitled Braḥ Dharmaśāstra; and the other law-texts that follow are, nearly all of them, intimately connected with it; and "through it with the legal system of ancient India. The 18 law-titles of the Code of Manu are present in the Siamese *Dharmaśāstra*, as well as "the seven classes of slaves, the classes of persons inadmissible as witnesses, and the recognition of the Hindu principle that interest ought never to exceed capital." Appropriate rubrics of the *Dharmaśāstra* are linked to the other law-chapters and to royal edicts, perhaps to ensure their continuity. It has been now proved that a Pāli *Dharmaśāstra* existed in Burma as early as the 12th century and was introduced into Siam in the Sukhōdaya period; and an inscription of 1344 A.D. contains both the terms, *Dharmaśāstra* and *Rājaśāstra*, consisting of royal decisions and edicts founded on particular cases. We further learn that an advisory body of Brahmans was constituted in the reign of king Paramatrailōkanātha to take care of the corpus of the law-texts. It was composed of twelve Brahman officials who were both learned in the *Dharmaśāstra* and cognizant of royal decrees and decisions; and the two senior members were the *Braḥ Mahārāja Grū Purohita* and the *Braḥ Mahārāja Grū Mahīdhara*. Before the time of this monarch, there prevailed ancient royal courts attached to the palace and administered by the Brahmans under the supervision of the king; these fell into disuse in the Bangkok period.

1. *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, p. 176.

Thus the Siamese social and political organisation has been marked by a high degree of assimilative power which has enabled the adoption of those features of Hindu Brahmanic and Khmer cultures which the country found to be suitable to its needs. While the Siamese kings have been mainly Buddhist, they contrived to retain much of Brahmanic ritual in their court ceremonies and to surround themselves with "the paraphernalia of Hinduism."

KAḶAVU IN THE TOLKĀPPIYAM

BY

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., PH.D., L.T.

Tolkāppiyaṉār says in the first sūtra of *kaḷaviyal* that, of the eight forms of marriage mentioned in Vedic scriptures, *kāma-k-kūṭṭam* or *kaḷavu* belongs to the type of *gāndharva*[1]; and in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth sūtras he says that the last three belong to *kaikkiḷai*, the first four belong to *peruntiṇai* and the *gāndharva* has five places of action.[2]

Now arises the question whether the *kaḷavu* form mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār applies only to *vēḷāḷas* or to all the four castes.

In *Akattiṇaiyiyal* he mentions that *pirivu* or separation may take place on account of study, war, embassy and amassing of wealth.[3] He then mentions the kinds of people who could take

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1. காமக் கூட்டங் காணுங் காலை
மறையோர் தேளத்து மன்ற லெட்டனுட்
துறையமை நல்லியாழ்த் துணைமையோ ரியல்பே.
(தொல். களவியல், 1.)

2. முன்னைய மூன்றுங் கைக்கிளைக் குறிப்பே. (கள. 14.)
பின்னர் நான்கும் பெருந்திணை பெறுமே. (கள. 15.)
முதலொடு புணர்ந்த யாழோர் மேன
தவலருஞ் சிறப்பி னைந்நிலம் பெறுமே. (கள. 16.)

The order of the eight forms of marriage taken here should be *brāhma*, *prājāpatya*, *ārṣa*, *daiva*, *gāndharva*, *āsura*, *rākṣasa* and *paiśāca* as is found in the *Gautamadharmasūtra*, and not as is found in the *Manusmṛti* where the order of *āsura* and *gāndharva* is reversed. The five places of action are forest, mountain, desert, agricultural tract and sea-shore.

3. ஓதல் பகையே தூதிவை பிரிவே (அகத். 27.)
அவற்றுள்
ஓதலுந் தூது முயர்ந்தோர் மேன (id. 28.)
தானே சேறலுந் தன்னொடு சிவணி
ஏனோர் சேறலும் வேந்தன் மேற்றே (id. 29.)

to the different kinds of separation. From the mention of the words *nālvarkkum*, *vēntaṉ*, *uyarntōr* and *piṉṉōr* by Tolkāppiyaṉār here and that of the words *mēlōr mūvarkkum* and *kīḻōrkkŭ* in *kaṟpiyal*,[1] it seems to me that the *kaḷavu* and the *kaṟpŭ*[2] which he mentions apply to all the four castes.

What is *kaḷavu*? It is the union of lovers with reciprocated love without the knowledge of the lady-love's parents. *Kaṟpŭ* is the ceremony performed to sanction the previous union, where the lady-love's parents may co-operate or may not.[3]

It has already been said that *kaḷavu* belongs to the *gāndharva type*. It has been mentioned in the *Gautamadharmasūtra*, the *Manusmṛti* etc., that the *gāndharva* form of marriage is *dharmya* or righteous to all the four *varṇas*[4]. The *Kāmasūtra* mentions that, after their love is reciprocated, they may go round the nuptial fire thrice and then inform the lady-love's parents[5].

மன்னர் பாங்கிற் பின்னோ ராகுப (id. 32.)

உயர்ந்தோர் பொருள்வயி னொழுக்கத் தான (id. 36.)

மேலோர் முறைமை நால்வர்க்கு முரித்தே (id. 51.)

1. மேலோர் மூவர்க்கும் புணர்த்த கரணங்
கீழோர்க் காகிய காலமு முண்டே (கற்பி. 3.)

Since the word *kaṟpŭ* is equated with கரணம், the word *kalpa* is used in the sense of *vidhāna* in *kṣātreṇa kalpena upanīya* (*Uttararāmacarita*), and *karaṇam* is used in the sense of *homa* in expressions like *agnau karaṇam*, it is evident that the word *kaṟpŭ* is the *tadbhava* of *kalpa* through *kaṟpam*. Cf. *accam accu* (Paripāṭal).

2. The meaning of chastity to the word *kaṟpŭ* seems to have been later.

3. கற்பெனப் படுவது கரணமொடு புணரக்
கொளற்குரி மரபிற் கிழவன் கிழத்தியைக்
கொடைக்குரி மரபினோர் கொடுப்பக்கொள் வதுவே (கற்பி. 1.)
கொடுப்போ ரின்றியுங் கரண முண்டே (id. 2.)

4. चत्वारो धर्म्याः प्रथमाः ; षडित्येके (गौतमधर्मः, I, 4, 12-13)
षडानुपूर्व्या विप्रस्य क्षत्रस्य चतुरोऽवरान् ।
विट्शूद्रयोस्तु तानेव विद्याद्धर्म्यानराक्षसान् ॥ (मनुस्मृतिः 3, 23)

5. प्रतिपन्नामभिप्रेतावकाशवर्तिनीं नायकः श्रोत्रियागारादग्निमानाय्य कुशानास्तीर्य यथास्मृति हुत्वा च त्रिः परिक्रमेत् । ततो मातरि पितरि च प्रकाशयेत् । अग्निसाक्षिका हि विवाहा न निवर्तन्त इत्याचार्यसमयः । दूषयित्वा चैनां शनैः स्वजने

From this it is evident that, wherever girls attain their maturity before marriage, it is possible to have the *kaḷavu* form of marriage. It was recognised to be righteous by Tolkāppiyaṉār[1] and also by the authors of the *Kāmasūtra* and *Dharmasūtras.* The commentators on Tolkāppiyam also hold the same view.[2] The author of the 39th stanza in *Kalittokai* also is of the same opinion since he speaks of a lady who had *kaḷavu* form of marriage that she could make the clouds shower if she likes . . . . என்றோழி cf. அருமழை தரல்வேண்டிற் றரு கிற்கும் பெருமையளே.

प्रकाशयेत् । तद्बान्धवाश्च यथा कुलस्याघं परिहरन्तो दण्डभयाच्च तस्मा एवैनां दद्युस्तथा योजयेत् । (कामसूत्रम् , III, 4, 11–15)

1. இன்பமும் பொருளு மறனு மென்றாங்கு (களவி. 1.)

2. இவ்வொழுக்கங்கள் அறத்தின்வழி நிகழ்தலானும்.....களவென் றோதப்படுகின்ற ஒழுக்கம் அறம்பயலாத புறநெறியன்று. (இளம்.)

களவொழுக்கம் பொதுவாகலின் நான்கு வருணத்தார்க்கும் ஆயர் முதலியோர்க்கும் உரித்து. (நச்.)

THE TRUE DATE OF BUDDHA

BY

K. G. SANKAR.

There is a tradition among Buddhists that Buddha died in 544 B.C., and that date is the epoch of the Buddha-varṣa. This tradition can be traced to the time of Sāhasamalla, King of Ceylon, whose Polonnaruva inscription dates his anointment in A.B. (after Buddha) 1743 years, 3 months and 27 days, on a Wednesday, Bhādrapada śukla dvādaśī (E. Müller: *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, no. 156). The details work out correctly to the 23rd August 1200 A.C.; and 3 months and 24 days is the exact interval between Bhādra śukla dvādaśī and Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, the traditional day of Buddha's death. The tradition cannot at present be traced back beyond 1200 A.C. But as the date is not historically impossible, it was accepted as correct by the earlier Orientalists. When, however, the Yavana kings mentioned in Aśoka's rock-edicts were identified with some successors of Alexander, who were ruling in *C.* 250 B.C., Max Müller, on the basis of the uniform Buddhist tradition which dated Aśoka's anointment in 218 A.B., inferred that the date of Buddha's death was 477 B.C., and not 544 B.C.; and though Goldstücker pointed out that the Buddhists were more likely to have remembered and handed down the date of Buddha's death rather than the correct interval between that event and Aśoka's anointment, Max Müller's views have prevailed with modern Orientalists, with, however, slight modifications (E. M. Subrahmaṇya Piḷḷai—493 B.C.; V. A. Smith—486 B.C.; J. F. Fleet—483 B.C.; L. D. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai—478 B.C.). This change of date for Buddha has led to other consequences. Jains, both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, had been unanimously dating Mahāvīra's death in 528 B.C. But as, from Buddhist scriptures, he is known to have been a contemporary of Buddha and of the Magadha kings Śreṇiya Bimbisāra and Kūṇika Ajātaśatru, and as both Buddha and Mahāvīra are believed to have died in Ajātaśatru's reign, Mahāvīra's death also had to be post-dated by about 60 years. Since these results are in conflict with Hindu and Jain chrono-

logy, modern Orientalists are inclined to discredit them in favour of Buddhist chronology. The object of this paper is to examine whether the Buddhist date for Aśoka's anointment is so infallible and Buddhist history and chronology in general so much more reliable as to warrant all these arbitrary assumptions and consequences, and to discover, if possible, the true date of Buddha.

If may be pointed out at the outset that the tradition regarding the interval between Buddha's death and Aśoka's anointment is not an independent tradition, but only the aggregate of the figures for the individual kings of Magadha in that period. It is moreover inconsistent with the evidence of Aśoka's own inscriptions. The meaning of the words "256 vuṭhena" in his minor rock-edict No. 1 is much disputed. But the evidence of Kauṭalya (*Arthaśāstra*, ii. 6) equating 'vyuṣṭa' with 'rājavarṣa' (era) is decisive; and 256 is evidently the year of the Buddhist era, especially as in this edict Aśoka confesses himself a Buddhist. Now, when this edict was engraved, Aśoka had been an upāsaka (lay disciple) for about 2½ years; and, as he is stated in Buddhist tradition to have become a Buddhist in his 4th year, minor rock-edict No. 1 must be dated in his 6th year, and his anointment in 250 A. B. This inference is confirmed by the Kapileśvar inscription (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, p. 752), dated in his 20th year and 'vuṭha' 270. It is therefore certain that Aśoka was not anointed in 218 A. B. The date of 250 A. B. for Aśoka's anointment is in fair agreement with the evidence of the Purāṇas, which date Aśoka's anointment 251 to 273 years after that of Ajātaśatru, and of the Jain chronicles, which place Candragupta Maurya's accession in 215 A. M. (after Mahāvīra), as Buddha is said to have died in Ajātaśatru's 8th year, and Candragupta and Bindusāra to have ruled for 24 and 25 years respectively, just before Aśoka.

Modern scholars, however, including Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar and Dr. Pradhān, prefer to believe the Buddhist chronicles as comparatively sober and honest. But they are no more sober or honest than Hindu and Jain chronicles. They all belong to the same category, with Greek and Chinese chronicles, of genuine but uncritical tradition, recorded long after the events they refer to. Tradition is only the combined testimony of various persons, who may all be interested in handing down the truth, but who cannot all be competent to sift it and keep it pure and free from

exaggeration or distortion; and though all these chronicles may be honest, if not critical or even unprejudiced, not one of them is exclusively trustworthy, because of the corruptions inherent in all human testimony. That the Buddhist chronicles are no more worthy of implicit trust than Hindu or Jain chronicles will be clear from the statement of the *Mahāvaṁśa* (Chs. 2 and 4) that 5 kings in succession, beginning with Ajātaśatru, were all parricides and that the citizens of Magadha banished Nāgadāsaka, not when he in his turn had murdered his father, but after he had ruled for 24 years. Ajātaśatru is known indeed to have been a parricide from the *Jātakas* (Nos. 239, 283 and 492) and the *Dīgha Nikāya* (sutta 2). He is said to have imprisoned his father Bimbisāra and starved him to death, but afterwards expressed his repentance to Buddha. This fact is the nucleus round which the legend of a dynasty of parricides was spun. Śiśunāga has also been misplaced by the Buddhist chronicles, which make him a minister of Nāgadāsaka, who was anointed king, when his master had been banished. The Purāṇas make him, on the other hand, the first king and founder of the dynasty known after him as Śaiśunāga; and Bimbisāra could not have been, as modern scholars incline to believe, the first king of the dynasty, as the *Mahāvaṁśa* distinctly says that he was anointed by his own father, who must hence have been likewise a king.

Buddhist chronology is no more reliable than its history. This is clearly seen from a study of the early chronology of Ceylon, as developed in *Dīpavaṁśa* and *Mahāvaṁśa*. Paṇḍukābhaya, anointed when 37 years old, is said to have ruled for 60 years. Nay more, his sons are said to have ruled altogether for 80 years, not including 12 or 22 years for Sena and Guttaka, who usurped the throne before Asela, the last of the brothers, who must thus have died 92 or 102 years after his father's death. This period of 210 years at least for 3 generations of kings (average 70 years for a generation) has no parallel in the world's history. It is therefore unsafe to date the death of Buddha on the sole authority of the Buddhist chronicles.

We have seen already that Aśoka's anointment must be dated in 250 A. B. Now it is possible to fix the limits of Aśoka's anointment within a single decade. On the one hand, in his rock-edict No. 13, Aśoka refers to his missions of dharma in the countries of his Greek neighbours Aṇṭiyoka, Turamāya, Aṇṭikini,

Maga and Alikasundara. These have been rightly identified with Antiochus I of Syria (280-261 B. C.), Ptolemy II of Egypt (285-247 B. C.), Antigonus Gonatus of Macedon (276-239 B. C.), Magas of Cyrene (285-259 B. C.) and Alexander II of Epirus (272-255 B. C.). As it was only after his conquest of Kaliṅga in his 8th year that Aśoka abandoned conquest by force in favour of conquest by dharma (rock-edict No. 13), Aśoka's 8th year was not later than 259 B. C., when Magas died (*Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VII, p. 712), and consequently his anointment must be dated before 267 B. C. On the other hand, both Justin (*Historiae Philippicae*, XII, 8) and Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, Ch. 62) assert that Candragupta, before he became king, met Alexander in 326 B. C. Candragupta's accession therefore cannot date before 326 B. C. and Aśoka's anointment must date after 277 B. C. Aśoka's anointment may thus be fixed between 277 and 267 B. C., with the effect of dating Buddha's death between 527 and 517 B. C.

The higher limit here arrived at (527 B. C.) for the date of Buddha's death is confirmed by a study of the relations between Buddha and Mahāvīra. It is well known that they were contemporaries, and the traditional dates, 544 B. C. and 528 B. C., for their deaths would imply that Buddha died before Mahāvīra. But the evidence of the Buddhist canon (*Dīgha Nikāya*, suttānta 29; *Majjhima Nikāya*, sutta 104) clearly favours the view that Buddha died after, not before, Mahāvīra, and that the interval between the two events must have been short. When Buddha was in the Śākya village Sāmagāma, his disciples heard of Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta's death at Pāvā and the consequent schisms among the latter's disciples. They became naturally anxious lest the already existing differences of opinion among themselves should likewise develop into schisms on their own master's death. They therefore directly carried the news to Buddha, to get his advice as to what they themselves should do in case, as was feared, he should shortly die. Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta of the Buddhist texts is certainly identical with Mahāvīra, who died at Pāvā on Kārttika amāvāsyā (*Kalpasūtra*, tr. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, pp. 264-265), 605 years and 5 months before the Śaka era (Jinasena: *Harivaṁśa*, 783 A.C., Ch. 60, st. 83-88), that is, on the 22nd October 528 B.C. Buddha therefore must have died shortly after 528 B. C.

Alone among Orientalists, L.D. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai has based his date (478 B. C.) for Buddha's death on astronomical data relating to events in the life of Buddha (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 197-204). These data are found in the Burmese chronicle *Malla-liṅkara-wouttou* (1773 A. C.), as translated by Bigandet in his *Life of Gaudama* (1880). The chronicle is no doubt of recent date, and the data, the week-days in particular, are not mentioned in earlier Buddhist chronicles. They could not have therefore been handed down by tradition from the days of Buddha himself. But in the first place the data are not astronomically impossible and work out correctly. They are therefore calculated, not merely haphazard, data. Again, they do not agree with the epoch of 544 B. C., as we should expect them to do, if they were calculated after 1200 A.C., when the Buddha-varṣa (544 B. C.) had come into use. It is therefore evident that the week-days were calculated before 1200 A. C. to suit the traditional tithis and nakṣatras relating to the various events of Buddha's life in years corresponding to a central event (Buddha's death), definitely dated by tradition. It is likewise clear that there must have been earlier authorities from which these data had been taken over by the Burmese chronicle, which in other details closely follows the *Jātaka* commentary. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the various events of Buddha's life are dated in years of an otherwise unknown Añjana era.

The astronomical data found in *Malla-liṅkara-wouttou* are:—

1. Añjana era began on Sunday, Caitra śukla pratipad (Bigandet, Vol. I, p. 13);

2. Buddha was born in A.E. (Añjana era) 68, Friday, Vaiśākha Kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭhī, Viśākhā (*ibid.*, I. 47; II. 71-72);

3. Buddha left Kapilavāstu for the wilderness in A.E. 96 or 97, Monday, Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā, Uttara Āṣāḍha (*ibid.*, I. 62-63; II. 72);

4. Buddha attained sambodhi in A.E. 103, Wednesday, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, before daybreak (*ibid.*, I. 97; II. 72-73);

5. Buddha's father Śuddhodana died in A.E. 107, Saturday, Śrāvaṇa pūrṇimā, at sunrise (*ibid.*, I. 208);

6. Buddha entered nirvāṇa (died) in A.E. 148, Tuesday, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, Viśākhā, before daybreak (*ibid.* II. 69, 73);

7. New religious era started by Ajātaśatru after the first Buddhist council in A.E. 148 from Monday, Phālguna śukla pratipad (*ibid.*, II. 113).

Among these data, there is only one astronomically impossible datum. On the day of Buddha's birth, Viśākhā is said to have co-existed with Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭhī. But on Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭhī, the moon's longitude cannot be less than 240° (at 12° per tithi), while the longitude of Viśākhā is only 200° to 213°. The nakṣatra therefore of Buddha's birth cannot have been Viśākhā. The other data, however, are all astronomically possible and work out correctly. Viśākhā seems therefore to have been wrongly inserted among the data of Buddha's birth by a later author, ignorant of astronomy, who evidently believed that Buddha was born and died on the same nakṣatra days.

Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai was an eminent and ingenious astronomer. But he made the mistake of calculatiug by the apparent and not the mean motions of the sun and the moon. Apparent motions, however, came into vogue only with the extant *Sūrya Siddhānta* (10th century A.C.), and even later, mean motions continued in use side by side with apparent motions until Śrīpati (1039 A.C.) protested strongly against their continued use in his *Siddhānta-śekhara*, when they were finally given up. In making calculations for early times, therefore, we have to use only mean motions, but in view of the possibility that the astronomical data of Buddha's life were calculated in the transition period, I have calculated by both mean and apparent motions, using the eye-tables of Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's *Panchāng and Horoscope*, in deriving dates suitable to the given data.

I have tested every year between 544 B.C. and 477 B.C. as a possible epoch of Buddha's death. I found six years to satisfy the given data for Buddha's death alone, that is, 542, 525, 515, 501, 498 and 484 B.C. But among them all, only one date, 525 B.C. yields dates to suit the data of the other events in Buddha's life. But as Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai claimed that the true date of Buddha's death was 478 B.C., I have worked out all the details for both the dates, and the results are discussed below.

With the epoch of 525 B.C. the Añjana era began on Sunday, 14th February 673 B.C., on which day Caitra śukla pratipad ended at ·19 of the day. On Friday, 1st April 605 B.C.

(A.E. 68), the day of Buddha's birth, Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭhī ended at ·63 of the day. On Monday, 13th June 577 B.C. (A.E. 96), the day on which Buddha left Kapilavāstu, Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā, which ended at ·90 of the day co-existed at midnight with Uttara Āṣāḍha, which began at ·38 of the same day. On Wednesday, 29th March 570 B.C. (A.E. 103), the day on which Buddha attained sambodhi, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, which began at ·48 of the day, was current shortly before daybreak. On Saturday, 10th July 566 B.C. (A.E. 107), the day on which Śuddhodana died, Śrāvaṇa pūrṇimā began at ·61 of the day and was therefore current at sunrise before the next day began. On Tuesday, 10th April 525 B.C. (A.E. 148), the day of Buddha's death, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, which began at ·03 of the day, co-existed with Viśākhā, which began at ·25 of the same day, shortly before daybreak. Lastly, on Monday, 29th January 525 B.C. (A.E. 148), the day on which the new religious era began, Phālguna śukla pratipad ended at ·17 of the day. It will be thus readily seen that the epoch of 525 B.C. and the other dates derived from it agree perfectly in their details with the given astronomical data.

The case is otherwise with Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's epoch of 478 B.C. In the first place, with this epoch, the Añjana era began on Sunday, 5th March 626 B.C., Caitra śukla pratipad having been current the whole day. But the corresponding date for Buddha's birth would be Thursday, not Friday as required, 10th April 557 B.C., as Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa ṣaṣṭhī ended at ·81 of the same day, and the year would be A.E. 69, not A.E. 68 as required. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai has therefore substituted Vaiśākha pūrṇimā for the given tithi, following the *Dīpavaṁśa* (ch. 21), and he finds a suitable date for it in Friday, 4th April 557 B.C. But we have to follow the data of the Burmese chronicle and not the *Dīpavaṁśa*, which gives no week days, as the week days were evidently specially calculated to suit the tithi and nakṣatra as given in the Burmese chronicle. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's date for Buddha's renunciation (22nd June 529 B.C.) requires us to suppose that it happened on Sunday night and not on Monday, as clearly stated in the chronicle, as Āṣāḍha pūrṇimā ended at ·07 of the next day (23rd June) and Uttara Āṣāḍha ended at ·91 of the same day (22nd June). The date for Buddha's sambodhi (8th April 522 B.C.) would be in A.E. 104, not A.E. 103, and as Vaiśākha pūrṇimā ended at ·64 of the day, the actual tithi at the

time of sambodhi (a little before daybreak) would be kṛṣṇa pratipad, not pūrṇimā. The date for Śuddhodana's death (20th July 518 B.C.) would be in A.E. 108, not A.E. 107, though it was a Saturday, and Śrāvaṇa pūrṇimā began at ·78 of the day. Even with regard to the central event of Buddha's death, Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai's date (Tuesday, 1st April 478 B.C.) fails to satisfy, as by mean motion, Viśākhā began only at ·25 of the next day, though Vaiśākha pūrṇimā was current from ·29 of the 1st April. Finally, as Phālguna śukla pratipad ended at ·43 of Sunday, 19th January 478 B.C., the week day of the new religious era was not Monday as required. We thus find that the epoch of 478 B.C. fails to yield satisfactory dates for any event of Buddha's life. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai has himself noticed most of these discrepancies. But he has tried to explain them away by assuming the data to be incorrect whenever they disagreed with his dates, instead of finding other dates to suit the given data.

We may therefore safely conclude that 525 B.C. is the only epoch for Buddha's death between 544 and 477 B.C., which satisfies completely all the given astronomical data, and, as this date falls within the limits (527 to 517 B.C.) indicated by literary and historical evidence, that it is the true and exact date of Buddha's death, until at least definite evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

SOME WORDS DENOTING RELATIONSHIP IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

BY

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There is a peculiar system in the Dravidian languages by which some pronominal bases are prefixed to words denoting family relationship with no change of meaning. The words *'Eṅgai' 'Naṅgai' 'Nuṅgai'*, *'Taṅgai'* and *'Maṅgai'* appear to have been formed from the same word *'Kai'* to which the pronominal fragments *'Eṉ'*, *'Naṉ'*, *'Nuṉ'*, *'Taṉ'* and *'Maṉ'* are prefixed. The first four words mean 'sister' in Tamil, and the last means a woman. The five prefixes split up above are undoubtedly pronominal in origin, and the last of them clearly shows a semantic divergence from the rest. The word *'Taṅgai'* exists in Canarese in the from *'Taṅge'*, meaning sister. There are also other words formed in a similar way as *'Eṉbi'*, *'Nambi'*, *'Tambi'*; all of them mean brother in Tamil, and some of them like *'Tamma'* - Canarese (brother) and *'Tammuḍu'* - Telugu (brother) are current in the other dialects with absolutely no semantic change and with only a little of phonetic change. The word *'Akka'* occurs in Telugu, which means an elder sister, and I think it reasonable to explain it as having been derived by prefixing a demonstrative base *'a'* to the word *'Kai'* as split up above. The words *'Tandai'*, Tamil (father), Canarese - *Tande,* and Telugu - *Taṇḍri* appear to have been related to the word *'Tāy'* mother (Tamil and Canarese) in the same way as the forms analysed above are related to each other. The above examples clearly show that some cases exist where there have been semantic changes. Almost all the examples referred to by me were noticed by Dr. Caldwell in his 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages', pp. 395-402, Revised Edition 1913.

When studied as an extension of this principle I find that some of the words which denote relationship (family) appear to have undergone some semantic changes in the various Dravidian

dialects both with and without the prefixing of pronominal fragments.

'Magaṉ' (Tamil) son Tamil (husband) (Tamil Lexicon)	(Canarese) *'Maganu'* - son.

In Telugu this word has undergone a change and assumed the form *'Magaḍu'* or *'Magaṇḍu'*. The earlier form is *'Maganṟu'* and is identical with the form in Tamil. But it means only the husband at present and the meaning 'son' has entirely gone out of use. The Śabdaratnākara, a standard Telugu Dictionary, does not give the meaning 'son' to this word. The word *'Magaṉ'* has *in usage* not the meaning of husband either in Tamil or Canarese. As shown by the Tamil Lexicon, the word existed with both the meanings in the early stage and one dialect specialised in one, whereas the other dialect specialised in the other.

The word *'Aṇṇaṉ'* - means elder brother in Tamil. Telugu - *'anna'*. Canarese *'aṇṇa'*, Malayāḷam *'aṇṇan'*, Tulu *'Aṇṇe'*. The word *'aṇṇā'* is said to have the meaning of 'father' in colloquial usage in Tamil - (Tamil Lexicon). Canarese people also call the father *'aṇṇa'*. The Telugu people address the father as *'Nānna* or *'Nāyana'* and these two words are compounds of *'Na+anna'* or *'Nā+ana'* (a form of *'anna'*). *'Nā'* is a pronominal prefix meaning 'my'. The word *'amma'* in Telugu means mother and *'Māmma'* means grand-mother or father's mother as distinguished from *'ammamma'* mother's mother. Here the semantic change has been accompanied by the prefixing of the pronominal base *'mā'*. Another expression used to denote the father's mother is *'Nānnamma'* or *'Nāyanamma'* which is evidently a compound derived from *'Nānna+amma'* or *'Nāyana+amma'*. The word *'Tāta'* in Sanskrit means father as is shown by the Amarakośa *'Tātastu janakaḥ pitā'*. The same word *'Tāta'* if regularly brought into Telugu ought to be *'Tātuḍu'* but that form is nowhere used. The word *'Tāta'* in Telugu means grand-father, —father's father or mother's father; and I have no doubt that this word must have been the same as the Sanskrit one with a semantic change. The word *'Kōḍalu'* in Telugu means a daughter-in-law, and Brown's Telugu Dictionary, page 325, gives two meanings: "A daughter-in-law, also a wife, *Bhāryā*; *'Mā kōḍalu'='Mā Bhāryā'* ". A number of village folk even to-day use the word in this sense; and this sense which is not

familiar to the classes, makes them question the user what exactly the meaning of the word is, as the only meaning 'son's wife' known to them does not fit in with the context. The word *'kōḍalu'* appears to be a compound of two words *'Kōḍa + ālu'* or *'alu'* as in *'maradalu'* and *'cellelu'*. *Kōḍa* (or *Koḍa*) appears to mean tenderness, or youth, (Kittel's Canarese Dictionary, Page 483). As such in origin it means 'young wife'. The counterpart of the above usage may be found in the way in which a wife speaks of the husband. In those classes in which it has been represented that the wife is addressed as *'Kōḍalu'* the husband is spoken of or referred to by the wife as *'māma'*. *'Māma'* is the word which denotes an uncle or father-in-law. In the higher classes, to distinguish between the two senses, the father-in-law is spoken of as *'māma-gāru'*. The last portion *'gāru'* is only an honorific and is clearly a latter addition.

As has already been shown, some of these pronominal prefixes do not bring in a semantic change, and Dr. Caldwell is of opinion that these are merely honorific, which seems probable. Another explanation also appears to be possible. These pronominal prefixes might have been added in their original and usual significance, *e.g.* *'amma'* mother, and *'māmma'* our mother, to distinguish the mothers of others, and the compound might have been afterwards extended back to its original general signification of mother. Such instances are not lacking in Telugu. *'Abbāyi'*—a boy, *'Ammāyi* - a girl, and *'Sitāyi'* - Sita, possess a suffix *'āyi'* which is nothing but the vocative *'ay'* (ōy) with *'i'* for enunciation and the vocative forms afterwards came to be used as the nominatives. The various honorifics that were once used have to-day become part and parcel of the names.

Now the most important task of explaining the semantic changes that have taken place in the words mentioned above remains. It can be seen that all those changes appear to have been due to one and the same cause, *viz.* the family relationship of the individual members in olden days amongst the Dravidians. If we can prove by other independent evidence or authority, that in the ancient Dravidian family, there were circumstances which must necessarily have led to the confusion or identification of the relationship above pointed out, the answer is given. The semantic transition may be grouped as follows:—

'Aṇṇa' Elder brother	= *'Nānna'* Father	*Tāta* Father	= *Tāta* Grand-father
'Amma' Mother	= *Māmma* Grand-mother	*Magan* Son	= *Magaṇḍu* Husband
'Kōḍalu' Daughter-in-law	= Wife *Kōḍalu* as (*mā Kōḍalu*)	*Māma* Father-in-law	= *Māma* Husband.

All these changes appear to have been the result of a custom, which must have been widely prevalent in the Dravidian tribes, of the father marrying an older girl than his son to him and thereafter taking up the duties of the minor husband on himself until he comes of age. Traces of this custom appear to have existed till very recently, though I cannot say that they exist to-day.

The following extracts from the District Gazetteers form authoritative evidence as to the existence of the practice mentioned above, at least once upon a time.

"A sūdra custom in Koimbatore By J. D.

A father marries a grown-up girl 18 or 20 years old, to his son, a boy of seven or eight, after which he publicly lives with his daughter-in-law until the youth attains his majority when his wife is made over to him, generally with half a dozen children. These children are taught to address him as their father. In several cases this woman becomes the common wife of the father and the son. She pays every respect due to her wedded husband and takes great care of him from the time of her marriage".[1]

"They (the marriages) take place after puberty, the male being about 20 and the girl about 15; the only exception is when a boy of 7 or 8 is occasionally married to a maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter of perhaps 16 or 18 in order to avoid losing so specially proper a relationship for marriage; in this case it is said that the boy's father is the *de facto* husband. But this barbarous and objectionable custom is more honoured in the breach than in the observance, *and is hardly practised*, though it is alleged that it can be enforced by appeal to the community, and that upon any objection, the boy's mother is entitled (to threaten) to drown herself in a well, or (as is not unfrequently

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, p. 32.

the case) she will incite her friends to tie a '*tāli*' on the girl by fraud or force.[1]

"The rule that a man can claim the hand of his paternal aunt's daughter in marriage is enforced with a rigour which sometimes leads to curious complications.

The idea underlying this last custom appears to be the feeling that a woman is bound to replace the loss to her father's family occasioned by her marrying out of it, by returning one of her daughters to that family. The simplest way of making the restoration is to marry her daughter to her brother's son. But if the brother has no son he can still demand that the girl be restored to his side of the family and can require that she shall marry some other boy belonging thereto. This latter alternative is adopted in some castes where the age of the girl is much greater than that of the mother's brother's son, but in others custom requires that the latter shall marry her however old she may be, and the result is naturally the subversion of all the ordinary rules of morality."[2]

Kunnuvans. These are the principal cultivating caste on the Palni hills. They speak Tamil.

"The claim of a man to his paternal aunt's daughter is rigidly maintained and the evasions of the rule allowed by other castes when the ages of the parties are disproportionate are not permitted. Consequently a boy sometimes marries more than one of these cousins of his, and until he reaches manhood those of them who are much older than he is, live with the other men of the caste, the boy being the nominal father of any children that may be born. A boy of nine or ten may thus be the putative father of a child of two or three."[3]

Toṭṭiyans.—The only Telugu caste which is characteristic of the district is that of the Toṭṭiyans. Centuries ago, they say, they migrated to this district.

Among these people "Marriage is either infant or adult. A man has the usual claim to his paternal aunt's daughter and so rigorously is this rule followed that boys of tender years are

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1. *Manual of the Coimbatore District,* (p. 58) 1887.
2. *The Gazetteer of the Madura District,* Vol. I, pp. 87-88 (1906).
3. *Madura District Gazetteer,* p. 103.

frequently married to full-grown women. These latter are allowed to consort with the husband's near relations and the boy is held to be the father of any children which may be born."[1]

"Of the Canarese-speaking castes of this district, two, the Kāppiliyans and Anuppans, are worth a note."

"A man's right to marry his paternal aunt's daughter is so rigorously insisted upon, that, as among the Toṭṭiyans, ill-assorted matches are common. A woman whose husband is too young to fulfil the duties of his position is allowed to consort with his near relations and the children so begotten are treated as his."[2]

"The right of a man to the hand of his paternal aunt's daughter is as rigorously maintained as among the Kāppilians and the Toṭṭiyans; and leads to the same curious state of affairs. A bride price, as usual, is paid."[3]

"The Malayāḷis observe the rule of 'mēnarikam' with unusual rigour and curious results. An inconvenience inherent in the "Mēnarikam system" is that sometimes the 'Ūrimai' girl is a good deal older than the husband allotted to her fate by custom. Hence it sometimes happens that 'sons when mere children are married to mature females and the father-in-law of the bride assumes the performance of the procreative function,' and raises up a progeny on his son's behalf. 'When the putative father comes of age and in their turn his wife's male offspring are married, he performs for them the same office that his father did for him.' If the boy-husband's father is dead, or is not particularly fond of his daughter-in-law, one of his brothers or some other near male relative may be requisitioned to take charge of the girl."[4]

Now that the quotations given above appear to confirm the existence of such a habit in at least some of the Dravidian tribes talking the four cultivated dialects, *viz.* Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam, I feel that the linguistic evidence shown above goes to prove that the habit must have been widely prevalent in the past ages. There is no evidence so far as I could gather to state that the above mentioned habit exists to-day or existed in

1. *Madura District Gazetteer*, pp. 106-107.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
3. *Ibid.*, *The Anuppans*, p. 109.
4. *Gazetteer of the Salem District*, p. 157.

the recent past in the Telugu country also, and the intimate touch the Telugus had with the Āryan civilisation is responsible for its disappearance in the Telugu country earlier than in the farther south. The south always prided in maintaining the integrity of the past tradition (Dravidian), though even there the disappearance of this custom in the modern age has to be traced to the influence of the Āryan civilisation at a later stage.

The influence of Sanskrit language and Sanskrit culture on the Telugu language and literature is certainly much greater than on Tamil and its literature, and in more ways than one it can be proved that the nearness of Sanskrit culture has influenced the Telugu people more than it has affected the Tamilians as a race.

Now it is easy to imagine how the semantic confusion could have been possible in the early stages in such a family. But I shall explain it for clearness. For a child born in such a family the eldest son of the family is a father as well as a brother, because he is his real father's son, and the husband of his mother. So has arisen the confusion between, '*Anna*' and '*Nānna*'. The young wife is at the same time a young wife to the father and a wife to his son, and as such the word '*Kōḍalu*' came to mean both a wife and a son's wife. The young wife is again a mother and a grand-mother to the child, because she is not only his mother but also his grand-father's wife. Hence the confusion between '*amma*' and '*māmma*.' Again the grand-father and father are identical in the old man of the house and hence the semantic change of '*tāta*' from father to grand-father. The confusion between the senses of son and husband is also easily explained in the above condition because the husband to the young wife is not only a husband but also a son being the son of her virtual husband, and being much younger than herself.

All the changes are explained in the above manner, but it may be pointed out that though not so easily and directly yet in a round-about way explanations may be offered for these semantic deviations and specialisations. The existence of this practice in the tribes has been established, I feel, by the quotations presented above, and the corroboration afforded by the linguistic forms does not appear to be a matter of chance. A lot of evidence, I think, has already been adduced by the Orientalists as to the individuality of the Dravidians as distin-

guished from the Āryans and this piece of evidence also goes to strengthen the conclusions already established.

In this connection, the story of Sāraṅgadhara and Citrāṅgī, said to have occurred in the time of Rājarājanarēndra, is worth mentioning, as it can be interpreted to have something to do with this practice. Rājarājanarēndra had a son named Sāraṅgadhara who was very handsome, and a princess called Citrāṅgī was selected as wife to the young man. This was done, after the likeness of the young man was shown in a picture to the bride. But after the old man saw the likeness of the girl in a drawing, he himself wanted to marry her and did actually marry her under the pretence of marrying her to his son. When she actually came to live with her husband she found that she was deceived and she longed to have the object of her love brought near her. The man was one day brought by chance to her palace where she is said to have compelled him to treat her as his wife but the young man was adamant as she was a mother to him. She, not being able to bring him round, thought of revenge and reported to her husband that his son was a source of trouble to her, he having tried to seduce her. This enraged the father and he cut off the legs and hands of the son. Later on, a Siddha came that way, and having understood the innocence of the young man by celestial sight, (Divyadṛṣṭi) made his limbs grow by a mysterious process. There is absolutely no historic evidence as to the existence of Sāraṅgadhara and it must undoubtedly have been a myth. That this myth is authenticated and probably believed to be true in the Telugu country can be proved by two independent sources. This story has been written in the verse form by Chēmakūra Veṅkaṭakavi, a poet who lived in the time of the Nāyaka Kings of Tanjore, (1614-33) in the first quarter of the 17th century, but his version is slightly different.

Appakavi who is supposed to have lived in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 17th century refers to the story of Sāraṅgadhara in his grammar where he states that Sāraṅgadhara became an immortal Siddha and handed over the Telugu Vyākaraṇa written by Nannayya Bhaṭṭa and learnt by him by rote, in the year 'Kīlaka" (1656-7).

All this proves that the story was current in the Telugu country and that it was a myth. If it were a myth, why was it

created at all ? There is clearly a didactic purpose in it, that the son should have nothing to do with the woman whom the father was living with as a *de facto* husband. The story must have been created some time after the 11th century, *i.e.* after Rājarāja-narēndra, by some who saw the clash and incongruousness of both the Āryan and Dravidian systems. According to the practice that was held up by the story as moral, if the old father was living with a woman as his second wife, the son after he grows up shall have nothing to do with the woman though she was originally fixed up for him and she should be left alone as his father's second wife. This would be a happy solution and probably this is what is aimed at by the author of this story. I feel that there is an intimate connection between the habit referred to by me above, and this story. By itself the story may lead us to nothing, but when read together with all the other evidence it appears to fit in with the explanation.

There is another story (the story of Kuṇala) which appears to be similar to the myth of Sāraṅgadhara current in India in the 7th century. *Cf.* Buddhist records of the western world by Beal (Trubner's Oriental series) page 139 (Vol. I). Though this story is different from the episode of Sāraṅgadhara in details, still the principle involved in both is the same and both are myths. It appears to me that this might have also been intended to discourage incestuous relationship.

A direct discouragement of this Dravidian habit in the Telugu country must have started about or after the time of Rājarājanarēndra by the upholders of Āryan institutions.

I may once more state that this adds to the evidence already adduced to prove that the Dravidian culture and languages are distinct from the Āryan languages and culture in origin.

(Read at the Oriental Conference, 1937 held at Trivandrum,)

NOTES ON THE ANCIENT POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH INDIA

BY

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, M.A.

[Attempts have been made by scholars to reconstruct the early political geography of India. Lassen, Cunningham, Pargiter and Macrindle sought to elucidate the early geography of India from data available from the Purāṇas, the Epics and the accounts of foreign travellers. Since the advances made in Archeaology in India, began the systematic utilisation of epigraphical data for purposes of historical reconstruction and with it the attempt to correlate these data with the evidence from classical and Purāṇic literature on the ancient geography of India. Apart from this effort to explain classical and purāṇic geography, epigraphists like Hultzsch, Rice and Fleet tried to identify the geographical names occurring in inscriptions with their modern representatives and thus helped to build up a knowledge relating to the early political divisions of India and their nomenclature. Among the notable contributions to the study since their time may be mentioned those of P. V. Kane: Ancient Geography and Civilisation of Mahārāṣṭra (J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXIV (1917) p. 616-21); S. N. Muzumdar: Introduction and Notes to Cunningham's Ancient Geography; B. C. Law: Geography of Early Buddhism. In view of the importance of the subject and the increased material, mainly epigraphical, that is now available, I propose to follow up their studies and, on the lines adopted by Fleet in his notes on Indian History and Geography (I. A. Vols. 30-2), to publish, in the form of 'Notes on the ancient political geography of South India' the results of my investigations. The studies are confined to South India only.]

1. *AŚMAKA.*

According to the Sūtra of Pāṇini[1] the term Aśmaka was the common form employed to denote a people, their country and also their king and consequently it becomes easier to locate Aśmaka with the aid of the numerous references to it in the Sanskrit and Buddhist literatures and in the early inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas. From the available evidence it is known that it was a country watered by the river Gōdāvarī with its capital at Pōtana or Pōtali[2]. It is found associated with Muḷaka both in inscriptions and in literature. From the order in which the

1. IV. I. 173.

2. Jātakas: II No. 207 (Assaka Jātaka); III, pp. 3 and 5; *vide* article on the Muḷakas by Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstrī, Q. J. M. S., XXI, p. 62. B. C. Law: Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 21-2.

kingdoms ruled over by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscription it is possible to infer that the Aśmaka country lay adjacent to Muḷaka[1]. The Suttanipāta[2] makes this clearer by stating that the capital of Muḷaka was Paiṭhan and that the Aśmaka country was situated immediately to its south along the river Gōdāvarī. Therefore the Aśmaka country is to be located somewhere in the regions of the Gōdāvarī to the south or, more correctly, south-east of Paiṭhan, the position of which is well known.

The capital of Aśmaka is known to be Pōtana, a city as famous as Dantapura of Kaḷiṅga in Buddhist literature, for both the cities were supposed to have been the creation of Mahā-gōvinda[3]. The Mahābhārata mentions Paudana as the capital of Prince Aśmaka. Paudana is a variant of Pōtana and the prince takes his name after the country. It is on the identification of this city in the modern maps that the exact location of Aśmaka depends.

A city of the name Bōdana is mentioned by the Canarese poet Pampa (940 A. D.) in his Bhārata or Vikramārjunavijaya, a work dedicated to the Cāḷukya chief Arikēsarin II.[4] The city is also referred to in an inscription of the same monarch at

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1. Nāsik cave inscription. A. S. W. I. IV, p. 108, l. 2.

2. Suttanipāta, Pāli Text Society V. Pārayanavagga v.v. 976-7 and 1010 and 1011. These verses state that Baveru, a Brahman coming from Kōsala settled in Assaka on the Gōdāvarī in Dakṣiṇāpatha adjacent to Muḷaka. From Assaka he sent his pupils northwards first to Paṭiṭhan in Muḷaka, thence to Mahissati and Ujjain etc. The verses read :—

1010. Bāvarim abhivādetvā Katvācaṇam padakkiṇam|
jaṭājinadharāsabbe pakkāmum *Uttarāmukhā*||
1011. Muḷakassa Patiṭṭhānam purimam Māhissatim tadā|
Ujjeniñ cāpi Gonaddham Vedisam vanasahvayam||

3. Mahāvastu III, 208, 209. Dīghanikāya II 235, translated in Dialogues of Buddha, II, 270.

Dantapuram Kāḷiṅgānam Assakā nañ ca Potanam
Māhissatī Avantīnam Sovīrānañ ca Rorukam
....
.............................ete. Govindamāpitāti.

4. Pampa: Bhārata I, vv. 16-7; edited by the Department of Public Instruction, Mysore.

Vēmulavāḍa,[1] a place situated in the Karīmnagar district of the Nizam's dominions. From the information relating to the city and the country of its situation afforded by Pampa and the Vēmulavāḍa inscription it is possible to locate the city and identify it with Pōtana of Aśmaka.

Pampa states that Bōdana was situated in the Sapādalakṣa country ruled over by the Cāḷukya chief Yuddhamalla I, the first of the dynasty of his patron, Arikēsarin II. The verse in Pampa Bhārata seems to state that Yuddhamalla I bathed in the big tanks intended for royal elephants at Bōdana filling them with fragrant oil. This fact is repeated with slight variations of poetic fancy in the Vēmulavāḍa inscription, which, in fact, gives almost the same account, even in regard to historical details, of the genealogy of the king as that given by Pampa, thus imparting a genuineness to Pampa's account. It does not take us long to locate the Bōdana of these references, for in the district of Nizāmabād, which lies adjacent to the Karīmnagar district, to the west, is found a place called Bōdhan, situated a few miles south of the river Gōdāvarī and rich in antiquities of early date[2]. That this was the place meant by Pampa is confirmed by a detail mentioned in an inscription of the Cāḷukya King Trailōkyamalla (1056 A. D.) at the very place[3]. The record, after referring itself to the reign of Trailōkyamalla, relates that the Indranārāyaṇa temple erected at the capital Bōdhan by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Indravallabha having gone to ruin, Perggaḍa Jōgapayya, a servant of Āhavamalla renovated the temple in Ś. 978 (1056 A. D.). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, as suggested by Narasiṁhācārya, is very probably Indra III (915-17 A. D.) for the reason that one of his generals

1. Bhāratī, Vol. VIII, p. 2c0, text lines 13-15; Teliṅgāṇa ins., p. 173. The inscription which has been edited twice, requires a thorough re-reading. Line 13 ought to be read,

"Yarpōdanē Soudhamyīgajānām

Vidhāya vāpīmapi tailapūraiḥ" etc. thus giving us the reference to Pōdana and to the tanks of the elephants.

2. Lat. 18° 50′ long 77° 53′, lying about 200 miles S. E. of Paiṭhan.

3. R. Narasiṁhācārya; Bōdhan stone inscription of Trailōkyamalla; Hyd. Arch. Series, No. 7.

Cāḷukya Narasiṁha who was associated with him in his campaigns against the Gūrjaras and Mahīpāla of Kanouj belonged to the family of the Cāḷukya chiefs described by Pampa, being the father of Arikēsarin II[1], whose common ancestor Yuddhamalla I had Bōdana for his capital. These chiefs, for generations, appear to have been hereditary feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. Of the members of this family Arikēsarin I was the feudatory of Nirupamadēva Dhruva[2] (c. 780-94 A. D.) and Arikēsarin II that of Gōvinda IV (c. 715-935 A. D.) and Amōghavarṣa Baddega[3]. Again the son of Arikēsarin II, Vāgarāja was the *sāmanta* of Kṛṣṇa III (939-68 A. D.) as mentioned in the

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1. Altekar: Rāṣṭrakūṭas p. 102: Pampa Bhārata I vv. 26-9. This campaign finds an echo in Kṣēmēndra's drama Caṇḍakauśikam, a verse in the prologue of which states that Mahīpāla, in whose presence the drama was enacted, established himself at Kanouj after driving away the Karṇāṭas. The Karṇāṭas appear to be the army of Narasiṁha who were subsequently driven away by Mahīpāla and his allies. The Cāḷukyas and their armies are generally termed Karṇāṭas, as *e.g.* the Sāmangaḍ plates of Dantidurga (I. A. XI P, III) refer to the army of the Vallabha Kīrtivarman II as the Karṇāṭaka army. This identification would thus lend support to the position taken up by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in respect of the date of Caṇḍakauśikam. (*Coḷas I*, p. 287-8).

2. Fleet D. K. D. p. 380-1: Depending on the Bibliotheca Carnatica edition of Pampa Bhārata, a faulty edition, Fleet stated that Arikēsarin I invaded the kingdom of Nirupama Dhruva with the ministers of Vēṅgi; and Altekar (*Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 51) sees in this a confirmation of the civil war between Nirupama Dhruva and his elder brother Gōvinda. But from the improved edition of the work now available it is found that the verse relating to Nirupama conveys no such meaning. In truth, it seems to say that in the reign of Nirupama, Arikēsarin conquered Vēṅgi and Trikaḷiṅga, the two together, and caused his name to be written at the ends of the directions. There is thus, no enmity suggested between Nirupama and Arikēsarin, but on the other hand, Arikēsarin effected the conquests as a feudatory of the former.

3. Altekar p. 107-8: Pampa Bhārata canto IX prose passage after v. 52 states that Arikēsarin caused the downfall of Gōvinda IV who was vicious and offered the throne to his uncle Amōghavarṣa III Baddega, he being content to remain the foremost of feudatories.

colophon of Yaśastilaka of Sōmadēva, a work composed under his patronage. The close alliance that existed between them and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas makes it fairly certain that Bōdhan in the Nizāmabād district, where Indra III built a temple, was the Bōdana mentioned by Pampa. Vēmulavāḍa where Arikēsarin II's inscription is found is not far removed from Bōdhan as it lies in the adjacent district. From the description of Bōdhan as being "strewn with a large number of old Jaina and Brāhmanical sculptures, having three large tanks in the north, east and south and with a line of fortifications consisting of thick mud walls which run round the city", given by Narasiṁhācārya, it may be inferred that Bōdana reached to a greater antiquity than the 8th century A.D., the probable date when Yuddhamalla ruled there.

In regard to its situation, Pampa and the Vēmulavāḍa inscription both agree in stating that Bōdana was situated in the Sapādalakṣa country ruled over by Yuddhamalla I. Now, in the commentary of Yaśastilaka, a work the importance of which for historical purposes is easily recognised, Śrutadēvasūri commenting on Aśmantaka occurring in the text equates it with Sapādalakṣanivāsin[1]. Though the date of the commentator is not known the information given is trustworthy. Bōdana or the modern Bōdhan being a city of great antiquity in Sapādalakṣa, a country which is equated with the Aśmaka country, it stands to reason that it was the same as Pōtana of the Aśmakas mentioned in Buddhist literature. Not only is great antiquity testified to by the ancient remains at the place, but its very name and situation make its identification as the capital of the Aśmaka country certain. It lies south-east of Paiṭhan in the same valley of the Gōdāvarī, thus tallying with the statement of the Suttanipāta that the Aśmaka lay along the R. Gōdāvarī, south of Muḷaka, of which Patiṭhāna was the capital.

The location of the Aśmaka country in the Nizāmabād and the adjacent districts of the Nizam's dominions with its capital Pōtana represented by the modern Bōdhan bears out all the details relating to the country recorded in inscriptions and literature, and excavations at Bōdhan, one can be sure, will confirm the identification of one of the oldest cities of ancient India.

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1. Yaśastilaka I vv. 207-8: Commentry on.

No definite idea can be had at the present of the limits of the Aśmaka country as the epigraphical information relating to it is so scanty. The Jātaka stories, especially the Cullakaliṅga Jātaka, which describes the fight between the king of Kaḷiṅga and king Aruṇa of Assaka, seems to imply that the Aśmaka borders touched the western borders of Kaḷiṅga in which case it might be said that the Gōdāvarī which runs in an almost southerly direction on the eastern borders of the Nizam's dominions was probably Aśmaka's eastern boundary. But much depends on the epigraphical survey of the Nizam's Dominions and further identification of some of the territories that were under the rule of the Sātavāhanas, more especially of Asika[1], which forms the first of the three kingdoms Asika, Asaka and Muḷaka mentioned in Sātavāhana inscriptions.

1. In the Hatigumpha inscription the Kaḷiṅga king Khāravēla without taking into account king Sātakarṇi is stated to have caused a large army to move towards the Western quarter and strike terror into Asikanagara. This would indicate that they were adjacent territories.

VĀLMĪKI, HIS MIND AND ART

BY

T. R. RAMAKRISHNA SASTRI, M.A., B.L.

Among the ornate poems in Sanskrit, the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki holds the first and foremost place, both by intrinsic worth and by priority of date. Its importance and permanence have been enhanced and ensured by its illustrious hero and its exalted subject-matter. The sublimity of its theme and thought and its beautiful and forceful expression are indices of the master-mind which produced it under divine inspiration.

Several views have been held regarding the purport of the Rāmāyaṇa. To some it has been an allegorical representation of the Āryan conquest of the South of India and to others a picture of the spread of Āryan culture to the South and Ceylon. It is in another view, based on Indian mythology, the traces of which could be seen in the Veda. It has also been considered an illustration of self-dedication to God as the means of salvation of mankind. The philosopher has also read into it the science of the Soul.

This poem appeared in an epoch-making form, new and distinct from those in existence prior to the date of its origin, and was consequently styled "Ādi-kāvya", the first poem. Its form became the ideal for the future—not only its metrical setting, but also its thought and method. The standard for the later Kāvya—classical poety—was set by this earliest poem, and later rhetoricians have emphasised the importance of the purport of the Kāvya as one of the main elements leading to its popularity and permanence. The subject-matter and the hero are essential factors in the success of a poem and in their superiority lay the beauty and appeal of the poem. This function of the Kāvya, as interpreted by Sanskrit literary critics, was to convey the teachings of the lord-like Veda and the discourses of the friend-like Purāṇa in a fascinating form even as a beloved appeals to and leads her lord.

The main purport of the Veda is Dharma.

वेदो धर्ममूलम् । वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलम् ॥

A Kāvya, if it purports to convey the teachings of the Veda in a beautiful and relishable form, has necessarily to devote itself to the description of a righteous and virtuous life. The Ādikāvya which set the standard for all future poems and which narrated the life of a person who was to shine as an ideal for all times and beings could therefore not have had for its main purport any subject other than the development of this eminently practical and ennobling theme of Dharma.

Indian exegetists would apply certain recognised tests to ascertain the purport of a text, *viz.*

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वता फलम् ।
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

Applied to the Rāmāyaṇa, these tests also lead us to the same conclusion, *viz.* that it is essentially devoted to the expounding of Dharma, and that it is a धर्मप्रधानकाव्य and a धर्मप्रतिपादककाव्य.

The poem begins with an incident which is characterised by injustice and the emotions of the author which were stirred spontaneously gave rise to the exquisite *śloka* and the great poem which followed in its form. In search of a fitting subject for the employment of this new literary form he seeks to ascertain from his teacher, "who in the world is a Dharmajña?" The poem thus begins with a specific mention of this subject (Dharma) and emanated out of pathos arising from a sense of injustice.

The hero and his superior qualities are given foremost consideration in the choice of the subject of this poem; and in the enumeration of his special qualities at the commencement of the poem, prominent mention is made of Dharma.

रक्षिता जीवलोकस्य धर्मस्य परिरक्षिता ।
रक्षिता स्वस्य धर्मस्य ॥ I. i. 13-14.

The Creator directs Vālmīki to narrate the life of Rāma, a Dharmātman.

धर्मात्मनो गुणवतो लोके रामस्य धीमतः ।
वृत्तं कथय ॥ I. ii. 32-33.

And the poem was composed in the form of a धर्मात्मगुणविस्तरम् (I. iii. 8), and taught to the Kuśīlavas for the purpose of elaboration of the Vedic teaching, *viz.* Dharma.

वेदोपबृह्मणार्थाय तावग्राहयत प्रभुः ॥ I. iv. 6.

The culmination of the narrative in the death of Rāvaṇa and the triumph of righteousness points to the same theme. *Cf.*

राघवश्चापि धर्मात्मा प्राप्य राज्यमनुत्तमम् ॥ VI. 131, 94.

आसन् प्रजा धर्मरता रामे शासति नानृताः ।

सर्वे लक्षणसम्पन्नाः सर्वे धर्मपरायणाः ॥ VI. 131, 102.

This idea is also repeated and emphasised frequently throughout the poem. The aged Daśaratha, reluctant to part with his sons, is obliged to send them with Viśvāmitra, having promised his aid, for the sake of Dharma. The great qualities of the hero, a Dharmātmā, have endeared him to the subjects, who unanimously welcome the proposal for his coronation. His banishment is calmly accepted by him who subscribes himself

नाहमर्थपरो देवि लोकमावस्तुमुत्सहे ।

विद्धि माम् ऋषिभिस्तुल्यं केवलं धर्ममास्थितम् ॥

The sages welcome him to the forest as the protector of Dharma

धर्मपालो जनस्यास्य । III. i. 18.

His beloved advises him to wield his weapons for the protection of the afflicted.

धर्मादर्थः प्रभवति धर्मसारमिदं जगत् ।

धर्मेण लभते धर्मम् । III. ix. 31.

Even the demon Mārīca recognises this essential quality in him when he dissuades Rāvaṇa from his ignoble desire.

रामो विग्रहवान् धर्मः साधुः सत्यपराक्रमः ॥ III. 37, 13.

His associate, Jaṭāyus who was also attached to Dharma (स्थितो धर्मे, III. 50·3) appeals to the Rākṣasa king in the name of Dharma to desist from his disastrous act. In the cause of justice and righteousness is Vālin killed and this action vindicated by Rāma mainly on the ground of Dharma (IV. 18). In the thick of the fight, at the critical hour, it is the Dharma of Rāma that is invoked for the annihilation of the foe.

धर्मात्मा सत्यसन्धश्च रामो दाशरथिर्यदि । VI. 91, 73.

To his enemies too his righteousness made the greatest appeal

यस्मिन्न चलते धर्मो यो धर्मं नातिवर्तते । VI. 28, 19.

The efficacy and necessity of righteous conduct have been stressed frequently and the consequences of its absence also emphasised. The justification for and the rationale of Dharma have been explained and commended whenever an opportunity occurred, *e.g.*, in the Jābāli episode in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, in the argument with Vālin, in Sītā's defiance of Rāvaṇa's entreaties and threats.

It is amply clear from the evidence presented by these tests that Dharma as conceived by the illustrious author is the *tātparya* of this great work, and the hero was one who was well-versed in the Dharma, who was practising Dharma in its entirety and who was himself Dharma in form and spirit.

While presenting a poem with a didactic trend in a relishable form, the author's art has been no less exquisite. He is depicting an ideal man, but in doing so, he presents him in human form, full of human feelings, sentiments and actions. Nowhere is anything of a superhuman touch or connection introduced in the character and conduct of any of Vālmīki's creations in the poem. To illustrate that righteous conduct (a Dhārmic life) was within easy reach of all human beings, the author has thrown light on the commonness of his characters by introducing in them as much of human feelings and actions as are found in the commonest of men. Rāma bewails the loss of his wife, is afflicted with pain and grief at his separation from his beloved (IV. i; VI. ii), and is carried away by the ordinary sense of fairness and prudence when he goads his beloved to the ordeal of fire. Sītā, with all her ennobling qualities, misses her sense of justice and propriety and suspects her brother-in-law, Lakṣmaṇa of infidelity (III. 45). The human element has thus been maintained and preserved to the utmost, and the value of the poem as a true picture of life is thereby enhanced in a large degree.

This human element has helped to make his delineation of character a perfect one. The ideal person, son, brother, husband and king—at the same time an essentially human man; a faithful, dutiful and affectionate housewife—the ideal of Indian womanhood; the ministers and counsellors like Hanumān learned and loyal to the core; friends like Jaṭāyus, Guha, Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa, sincere and helpful at all times of need; in these, as in

others, is seen the deft hand of the artful Vālmīki in sketching sublime characters.

But the appeal which the poem makes to the Sahṛdaya (ह्लादयत् सर्वगात्राणि मनांसि हृदयानि च) is by far its greatest merit. Brahmā's direction to the author was to produce the purificatory story of Rāma in a verse-style delightful to the responsive heart. This task was fulfilled by the artist in a form and style which are mellifluous and captivating like the song of the Kokila. The diction, simple and dignified, was befitting the ennobling Artha of the poem and the *śabda* and *artha* complemented each other in sweetness and beauty (उदारवृत्तार्थपदैर्मनोरमैः).

Figures, particularly the simile and *svabhāvokti*, have been adopted with a facility and mastery of an unsurpassed degree. All the sentiments which stir the emotions of the heart, referred to in the verse

हास्यशृङ्गारकारुण्यरौद्रवीरभयानकैः ।
बीभत्साद्भुतसंयुक्तं काव्यमेतदगायताम् ॥ I. iii. 9.

have been introduced and developed in an excellent and inimitable manner.

The sentiment which permeates the whole poem from the Krauñcamithuna episode to the final culmination in Rāvaṇa's death is pathos or Karuṇa rasa. Poetry, to Vālmīki, was only an expression of this sentiment of pathos arising out of Vipralambha (śoka = śloka). शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥
He recognised that the sentiment was better appreciated when suggested rather than when expressed. He has successfully suggestsd this sentiment throughout his poem which consequently ranks as a foremost व्यङ्ग्यप्रधानं काव्यम् .

The Rāmāyaṇa has served as a source-book to later master-poets who have drawn from it liberally, not only its subject, but also its form and style, *viz.* the sentiment of pathos and Vipralambha, the simile and Svabhāvokti in its simple and telling form and the exquisite but inimitable mellifluous style. Rightly and truly was it therefore predicted

यावत् स्थास्यन्ति गिरयः सरितश्च महीतले ।
तावद्रामायणकथा लोकेषु प्रचरिष्यति ॥

श्रीः

॥ भरताभिमतं लक्षणलक्षणम् ॥

BY

टि. के. रामचन्द्रशर्मा

विषयमिममधिकृत्य डाक्टर् वि. राघवेण अस्यामेव[1] पत्रिकायां मया नाट्यशास्त्रसमीक्षायां[2] च पूर्वं विचारः प्रवर्तितः । अथापि, केचिदर्था विमतिविषयाः सन्देहविषयाश्च वर्तन्त इति, ते सविशेषमत्र निरूप्यन्ते ॥

तत्राभिनवभारत्यामनूदितेषु दशसु पक्षेषु पञ्चमत्वेन "कवेरभिप्रायविशेषो लक्षणम्" इति यो निर्दिष्टः, तत्पक्षिभिः को वा अभिप्रायः लक्षणत्वेन विवक्षित इति नावगम्यत इत्याह डाक्टर्. वि. राघवः । अस्माकं तु प्रतिभाति—आचार्यदण्डी भाविकालङ्कारप्रस्तावे—"भावः कवेरभिप्रायः काव्येष्वासिद्धि यः स्थितः" [2. 364] इत्यभिधाय कवेरभिप्रायविशेषं तस्य प्रबन्धगतत्वं च स्फुटयति—

"परस्परोपकार्यत्वं सर्वेषां वस्तुपर्वणाम् ।
विशेषणानां व्यर्थानामक्रिया स्थानवर्णना ॥
व्यक्तिरुक्तिक्रमबलाद्गम्भीरस्यापि वस्तुनः ।
भावायत्तमिदं सर्वमिति तद्भाविकं विदुः ॥" इति ॥

इदमेव भाविकमेतैर्लक्षणत्वेन परिगृहीतम् इति । युक्तं चैतत् ; यतोऽभिनवात् प्राचीनो दण्डी मुन्युक्तलक्षणादीनां स्वमतेऽलङ्कारत्वमाह भाविकालङ्कारनिरूपणसमनन्तरमेव ।

" यच्च सन्ध्यङ्गवृत्त्यङ्गलक्षणाद्यागमान्तरे ।
व्यावर्णितमिदं चेष्टमलङ्कारतयैव नः ॥" इति ॥

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1. Vol. VI, part I.
2. pp. 83-90.

अथ दश पक्षाननूद्यान्ते साभिप्रायमाह अभिनवः "एषु पक्षेषु अन्यतमग्रहे विशेषणानि न सङ्गच्छन्ते स्पष्टेन पथा" [Vol. II, p. 297] इति। अत्र अन्यतमशब्देनेदं सूचितम् यन्मुनिना--

"षट्त्रिंशदेतानि तु लक्षणानि
प्रोक्तानि वै भूषणसम्मितानि।
काव्येषु भावार्थगतानि तज्ज्ञैः
सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानि यथारसं तु॥" [ना. 16.4]

इत्यत्र "भूषणसम्मितानि" "भावार्थगतानि" "यथारसम्" इत्यादिभिर्विशेषणैः, तथा--"एभिरर्थक्रियापेक्षैः काव्यं कार्यं तु लक्षणैः" इत्यत्र 'अर्थक्रियापेक्षैः' इति विशेषणेन च लक्षणानि काव्यशोभाजनकानि रसभावतत्प्रकाशकव्यापारार्थादिगतानि बहुमुखानीति प्रकाशितम्। तेषां बहुमुखानां सर्वेषामपि लक्षणानां न सङ्ग्रहणमन्यतमपक्षग्रहणे सति सम्भवति, एकदेशस्यैव तेन व्याप्तत्वात्, किन्तु सर्वेषामपि पक्षाणां समुच्चित्य ग्रहणे सत्येवेति। अनेनैवाशयेन अभिनवगुप्तो न कमपि पक्षं दूषयति, प्रत्युत यथावसरं सर्वानपीमान् स्वीकरोति। तद्यथा--इदमनेन शब्देन अनया इतिकर्तव्यतया इत्थंभूतबुद्धिजननाय ब्रुवे इति कविः प्रवर्तते, स तथाभूतं काव्यं विधत्ते। तत्र चित्तवृत्त्यात्मकं रसं लक्षयंस्तद्रसोचितविभावादिवैचित्र्यसंपादकः त्रिविधाभिधाव्यापारो[1] लक्षणशब्देनोच्यते। .... शब्दानां शब्दैः अर्थानामर्थैः शब्दानामर्थैस्तथापरैः सङ्घटनां विचित्रां कारयमाणाभिधाव्यापारवती ह्युक्तिः निर्वाणप्रधानधुराधिरोही लक्षणाख्य एव" [Vol. II, p. 297] इत्यनेन तृतीयनवमौ, "भूषणैः कटकादिभिः विभज्य स्थानदेशकालदशापुरुषादिविभागं विचार्य न्यस्तैरिव गुणालङ्कारैर्यदलङ्करणं तद्भूषणं नाम लक्षणम्। ....एतमेवार्थं सम्यगानन्दवर्धनाचार्योऽपि विविच्य न्यरूपयत् ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृङ्गारे...........। इत्यादिना ग्रन्थसन्दर्भेण सोदाहरणेन" [Vol. II. pp. 299-300] इत्यनेन षष्ठम्, "ननु उपमेयमलङ्कारः, किमतः, उक्तं ह्यलङ्काराणां वैचित्र्यं लक्षणकृतमेव। अत एव शिक्षितैरपि दण्डिप्रभृतिभिः ये निरूपिता उपमाभेदाः, तत्र यो भेदकोंऽशः, आचिख्यासानिर्णयसंशयादिरर्थः.......स

1. शब्दव्यापारः, अभिधातृव्यापारः, प्रतिपत्तृव्यापारश्चेति त्रिविधः।

लक्षणम्" [p. 305] इति, तथा "लक्षणबलादलङ्काराणां वैचित्र्यमागच्छति। तथा हि—गुणानुवादनाम्ना लक्षणेन योगात् प्रशंसोपमा, अतिशयनाम्ना अतिशयोक्तिः .... एवमन्यदप्युत्प्रेक्ष्यम्" इत्यादिभिः अष्टमम्, "एवं कविव्यापारबलाद्यदर्थजातं लौकिकस्वभावाद्भिद्यमानं तदेव लक्षणम्" [p. 321] इत्यनेन पञ्चमम्, "यथा च पीवरत्वं स्तनयोर्लक्षणम्, मध्यस्य तु कुलक्षणम्, एवं किञ्चिदभिधीयमानं केनचिद्रूपेण रसोचितेन विभावादिरूपेण तमेव पदार्थक्रमं लक्षयन् लक्षणम्, अन्यत्र तु कुलक्षणम्" [p. 297]; "यथा हि राजता विभज्य विचार्यमाणा इत्थमवतिष्ठते—मुकुटाद्यलङ्कारः, शौर्यादिगुणः, व्यूढोरस्कत्वादिलक्षणसमुदायः, राजा गुणवांश्चालङ्कार्यश्च लक्षणीयश्च तथा काव्यमपि" [p. 305]; "यथारसं ये विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिणः, तेषां योऽर्थः, तं स्थायीभावरसीकरणात्मकं प्रयोजनान्तरं प्राप्तानि, यदभिधाव्यापारोपसङ्क्रान्ता उद्यानादयोऽर्थास्तत्तद्रसविशेषविभावादिभावं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तानि लक्षणानीति सामान्यलक्षणम्" [p. 298]; "अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसात्वेऽपि हि यदप्रस्तुतस्य शरीरवैचित्र्यं तल्लक्षणकृतमेव; लक्षणं हि शरीरमित्युक्तम्। कटकाद्यैरपि(दावपि) हि यद्वैचित्र्यं कुशलसुवर्णकारोत्प्रेक्षितं तल्लक्षणमहिम्नैव। तत्तेनोपमानशरीरस्योपमेयशरीरस्य वा वैचित्र्यं लक्षणानामेव व्यापारः" [p. 317] इत्यादिभिः पक्षान्तराणि च यथावसरं स्वीकरोत्यभिनवः। एषूद्धृतेष्वभिनवसिद्धान्तवाक्येषु परीक्ष्यमाणेषु लक्षणानां गुणालङ्कारादिव्यतिरिक्तत्वं काव्यशोभाजनकत्वं शरीरत्वादलङ्कार्यत्वं च प्रतिभासते। अनूदितेष्वपि दशसु पक्षेषु इदमेव लक्षणानां विविक्तं स्वरूपमुररीकृतम्। भरतमुनिरपि अलङ्कारगुणादिप्रकरणात् पृथगुत्कृत्यनिरूपणेन, लक्षणमिति[1] नाम्ना,

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1. अयं खलु व्यपदेशः लक्षणानां शरीरकोटिप्रविष्टत्वादलङ्कार्यत्वं शरीरशोभाजनकत्वं च सूचयति। तथाहि लोके सुकेशी दीर्घनयना तिलकुसुमनासिका पक्वबिम्बाधरोष्ठी वृत्तपीवरस्तनी मृद्वङ्गी काचन स्त्री लक्षणवतीत्युच्यते। अत्र हि केशनयनस्तनादिशरीरावयवानां ये शोभनत्वदीर्घत्वपीवरत्वादयो धर्माः तानि लक्षणानि; यद्योगाल्लक्षणवतीति, यदभावाद्विलक्षणेति, यद्वैपरीत्यात् कुलक्षणेति च व्यवहारः सार्वजनीनः। एते च धर्माः शरीरशोभाजनकाः न कटकादिवत् पृथक्सिद्धाः, किन्तु शरीरादपृथक्सिद्धाः अलङ्कार्याश्चेति सम्मतमेव सर्वेषाम्। अलङ्काराणामपि शोभाजनका भवन्त्यते धर्माः, यतो स्तनस्य पीवरत्वाभावे हारादिनापि न शोभा जायते। उचितस्थानेषु निवेशिताः

"अलङ्कारैर्गुणैश्चैव बहुभिः समलङ्कृतम् ।
भूषणैरिव विन्यस्तैस्तद्भूषणमिति स्मृतम् ॥" [16. 5]

इत्यादौ गुणालङ्कारभिन्नस्यालङ्कार्यस्य लक्षणत्वप्रतिपादनेन, तथा

"आत्मभावमुपन्यस्य परसादृश्ययुक्तिभिः ।
तीव्रार्थभाषणं यत् स्यादाक्रन्दः स तु कीर्तितः ॥" [16. 19]

"गुणानुवादो हीनानामुत्तमैरुपमाकृतः ॥" [16. 13]

"यत्राल्पैरक्षरैः श्लिष्टैर्विचित्रार्थोपवर्णनम् ।
तदप्यक्षरसङ्घातं विद्याल्लक्षणसंज्ञितम् ॥" [16. 6]

"गुणैर्बहुभिरेकार्थैः पदैर्यः संप्रशस्यते ।
पदोच्चयं तु तं विद्यान्नानार्थग्रथितार्थकम् ॥" [16. 18]

इत्येवमादौ विशिष्टानां वर्णनीयवस्तूनां तदुचितशब्दानां च लक्षणत्वकथनेन चाभिनवगुप्तमेवानुगृह्णाति । तदित्थं भरतानुरोधेनैवाभिनवगुप्तपादैर्लक्षणानां गुणालङ्कारादिव्यतिरिक्तविषयत्वं प्रसाधितमिति दर्शितम् ॥

अत्र केचित् प्रत्यवतिष्ठेरन्—कथं लक्षणानां गुणालङ्कारादिव्यतिरिक्तत्वं सम्भवेत् ? न हि गुणानुवादातिशयहेत्वाशीःप्रभृतीनां लक्षणानामुपमातिशयोक्तिहेत्वाशीरादिभ्योऽलङ्कारेभ्यः, अक्षरसङ्घातादीनां श्लेषादिगुणेभ्यः, युक्तिप्राप्तियाच्ञादीनां तत्तत्सन्ध्यङ्गेभ्यः, संशयाख्यानादीनां शङ्कावितर्कादिभावेभ्यश्च वैलक्षण्यमनुभूयते । अनुभवविरुद्धश्च कथं शपथशतेनापि साधयितुं शक्यते । अत एव दशरूपकादिषु लक्षणानां यथासम्भवमलङ्कारभावसन्ध्यङ्गादिष्वन्तर्भाव उक्तः[1] इति ॥

अत्र पश्यामः । रसास्वादवेलायां तन्मयीभवनक्रमेण विगलितवेद्यान्तरे सहृदयमनोदर्पणे शब्दार्थयोरपि वैलक्षण्यास्फूर्तौ किमुत वक्तव्यमन्येषां काव्यधर्माणाम् । अतश्च विवेचनदशामवलम्ब्यैव सर्वेषामपि काव्यधर्माणां स्वरूपं परस्परवैलक्षण्यं च स्वीकरणीयम् । तदा च

खलु अलङ्काराः भूषणभूष्यभावसाधारण्यं भजन्ते । अपि च करचरणाद्यवयवानां यथास्थानविनिवेशोऽपि लक्षणमित्युच्यते । इत्थं लोकानुरोधात् काव्येऽपि लक्षणानां शरीरभूतेतिवृत्तशब्दार्थाद्यव्यतिरिक्तत्वम्, तच्छोभाजनकत्वम्, अत एव स्वयमलङ्कार्यत्वं च व्यपदेशेनानेन सूचितं भवति ॥

1. डाक्टर् वि. राघवेणायमेवान्तर्भावपक्षः सिद्धान्तितः ।

किञ्चिद्विशेषोपलम्भे पृथक् परिगणनं विवेचकानां सूक्ष्मदृशां सम्प्रदायः। अतश्च लक्षणानामपि कुत्रचिन्नामसादृश्ये सत्यपि तत्त्वे विशेषोपलम्भात् पृथक् परिगणनं युक्तम्। तद्यथा—प्रकृतस्य वस्तुनो वर्णनीयस्यान्येन सादृश्यप्रतिपादनमुपमेत्युच्यते। तस्य च सुन्दरत्वे सत्येवालङ्कारत्वम्, नान्यथा। सौन्दर्यं चोचितगुणक्रियादिविशिष्टयोरुपमानोपमेययोः सादृश्यप्रतिपादने सति सम्भवति। तत्र यदुपमानोपमेयगतानामुचितगुणक्रियादीनां वर्णनं कविव्यापारायत्तं तदेव लक्षणमित्युच्यते। तद्यथा 'श्यामा विशालाक्षी मत्तमातङ्गगामिनी' इत्यादौ श्यामत्वादीनाम् उपमेयगतानां लक्षणत्वम्। एवम् 'सञ्चारिणी दीपशिखेव रात्रौ' इत्यादौ सञ्चारिणीत्युपमानविशेषणं लक्षणम्। तदित्थमलङ्काराणामपि वैचित्र्यजनकं लक्षणमिति सिद्धम्। तच्च काव्येषु नियतम्। न हि नायिकायाः श्यामत्वविशालाक्षीत्वपीवरस्तनीत्वमन्थरगमनत्वादिगुणकर्मविभागम् अवर्णयित्वा केवलं चन्द्रवदनेत्याद्युपमामात्रेण छाया भवति। गुणक्रियाविभागान् वर्णयित्वोपमाप्रतिपादने पुनर्हृद्यः परमामोदः। अत एव काव्यस्य शोभातिशयहेतवोऽलङ्कारा इत्युच्यन्ते। अलङ्काराणामभावेऽपि लक्षणसत्त्वे काव्यस्य शोभा भवत्येव। दृश्यते हि लोकेऽपि लक्षणवती स्त्री निरलङ्कारापि शोभमाना। अपि चालङ्काराणां स्वतो मनोहराणामपि स्थाने विनिवेशितानामेव काव्यशोभाजनकत्वं भवति। न खलु सुन्दरोऽपि हारः पादे निवेशितः, पीवरस्तनीत्वकम्बुकण्ठीत्वादिलक्षणविहीनवनिताकण्ठनिवेशितो वा, शोभामावहति। अतश्चालङ्काराणां यत् स्थाने विनिवेशनं[1] तदपि लक्षणम्। एवमेव गुणानामपि श्लेषादीनां समुचितस्थानेषु विनिवेशो लक्षणम्। तद्यथा—समासभूयस्त्वस्यौजसः रौद्रप्रधाने काव्ये धीरोद्धतादौ वक्तृषु। अन्यत्र शृङ्गारादौ खलु तन्निबद्धं लक्षणहीनं दुष्टं भवति। एवमन्येऽपि गुणसङ्घटनादीनां स्थाने समीक्ष्यविनिवेशनप्रकारा[2] अन्यत्रानन्दवर्धनाचार्यप्रभृतिभिः सविस्तरं प्रपञ्चिताः नात्र प्रतन्यन्ते॥

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1. अलङ्काराणां स्थाने समीक्ष्य विनिवेशनप्रकारो ध्वन्यालोके द्वितीयोद्द्योते निरूपितस्तत्रैव द्रष्टव्यः।

2. ध्वन्यालोके तृतीयोद्द्योते "गुणानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ती..." इत्यस्मिन् प्रकरणे।

अथ सन्ध्यङ्गानामपि वैचित्र्यजनकं लक्षणं तस्माद्भिन्नमेव । तथा हि—बहुष्वपि सत्सु रामादिनायकव्यापारेषु केचिदेव व्यापाराः प्रधानैकफलोद्देशप्रवृत्तसोत्साहनायकाश्रयाः काव्येषु वर्ण्यन्ते, न सर्वेऽपि, अप्रयोजनत्वात्, सर्वसाधारण्यादयुक्तत्वाच्च । एवंविधनायकप्रवृत्त्यनुगुणानामन्येषामपि व्यापाराणां काव्येषु वर्णनमवश्यंभावि । एवं स्थिते प्रधाननायकावस्थानुगुण्येनेतिवृत्तं पञ्चधा विभज्य एकैकस्मिन्नपि विभागे योजनीयानि इतिवृत्तखण्डानि (व्यापारात्मकानि) कवीनां काव्यप्रणयनमार्गोपदेशाय विभज्य दर्शितानि सन्ध्यङ्गानीत्युच्यन्ते[1] । एषामितिवृत्तखण्डानां काव्यावयवरूपाणां प्रत्येकं सौन्दर्यजनकानि लक्षणानि भवन्ति । अत्र विस्तरभयादेकमेव सुव्यक्तमुदाहरणं प्रदर्श्यते । यथा—मुखसन्धौ विलोभनाख्यस्याङ्गस्य लक्षणमाह भरतः—'गुणनिर्वर्णनं यत्तु विलोभनमिति स्मृतम्'—इति । अयं भावः—योऽयमर्थः प्रधानः काव्येषु निबध्यते कन्यालाभो राज्यलाभो वा तस्य प्रथममुपक्षेपः, ततो बहुलीकरणम्, ततश्च तत्राभिलाषाजननाय गुणवर्णनमिति क्रमेण व्यापारा वर्णनीया इति । अत्र गुणकीर्तने सन्ति बहवः प्रकाराः। केचिन्मनोहराः, केचिदतिमनोहराः, केचित् सालङ्काराः केचिन्निरलङ्काराश्च । सर्वथापि गुणवर्णनस्य विलोभनाख्यमुखसन्ध्यङ्गत्वमस्त्येव । परं तु लक्षणयोगः सर्वत्र न भवति । किन्तु कुत्रचिदेव । यत्र पुनरुचितैरुपमानैरतिमनोहरं कीर्त्यन्ते गुणाः विशिष्टतया तत्र भवति गुणानुवादाख्यं लक्षणम् । अन्यत्र तु केवलं सन्ध्यङ्गम् । एवं सर्वत्र सन्ध्यङ्गानामपि शोभाजनकानि लक्षणानीति मन्तव्यम् । अपि च, सन्ध्यङ्गानामपि रसभावादितात्पर्येण स्थाने विनिवेशनं लक्षणं भवति । तदिदं सूचयति भरतः 'सम्यक् प्रयोज्यानि यथारसं तु' इति । अस्थाने विनिवेशितं तु सन्ध्यङ्गं दुष्टमेव भवति—यथा वेणीसंहारे द्वितीयेऽङ्के विलासाख्यस्य प्रतिमुखसन्ध्यङ्गस्य विनिवेशनम् । संशयाख्यानादीनां व्यज्यमानत्वे भावत्वम्, अन्यथा लक्षणत्वमिति न भावेष्वपि लक्षणानामन्तर्भावः । अथ संशयादीनां सन्देहालङ्कारादिष्वन्तर्भाव इति नाशङ्कनीयम्, तेषामलङ्कारत्वानुपपत्तेः । न हि नायकादिव्यापारविशेषत्वात् काव्यशरीरभूतानां तेषामलङ्कारत्वमुपपद्येत । एवमेवाशीःप्रभृतीनामपि मन्तव्यम् ।

1. सन्ध्यङ्गान्यधिकृत्य मया विस्तरेण कृतो विचारः शीघ्रमेव प्रकाशयिष्यते । तत्र च तेषां सुव्यक्तं स्वरूपमवगन्तुं शक्यते ।

एषां च काव्यशरीरभूतानां स्वयं सुन्दरत्वाल्लक्षणत्वमेव युक्तम् । दण्डिप्रभृतिभिस्तु निखिलस्यापि शोभाजनकस्यालङ्कारत्वमभिप्रेत्य निखिलानामपि रसवृत्तिसन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गलक्षणादीनामलङ्कारत्वमुक्तम् । अतश्च तैराशीःप्रभृतीनामलङ्कारकोटौ परिगणनं युक्तमेव । यैः पुनर्विवेचकैः रसवृत्तिसन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गगुणालङ्कारादीनां विशेषदर्शनाद्विभिन्नत्वमुररीकृतम्, तैर्लक्षणानामपि भिन्नविषयता अङ्गीकार्या । आशीरादीनामलङ्कारकोटौ परिगणनं च न कर्तव्यम् । इत्थं लक्षणानां गुणालङ्कारादिव्यतिरिक्तत्वे स्थिते कानिचिल्लक्षणान्यलङ्कारकोटौ निवेश्यान्येषां तत्र तत्र यथासम्भवमन्तर्भावं कथयन्तो धनञ्जयप्रभृतयः अस्मिन् विषये[1] न परीक्ष्यवादिन इत्येव वक्तव्यम् ॥

इदमप्यत्र प्रतिभाति । अभिनवगुप्तानूदितेषु दशसु पक्षेषु, अभिनवसिद्धान्तवाक्येषु च परीक्ष्यमाणेषु यदिदमौचित्यं सर्वतोमुखं काव्येषु मूर्धाभिषिक्तम्, आनन्दवर्धनाचार्यप्रभृतिभिर्महाकवीनां महाकवित्वसंपादकरसोपनिषदिति च जोघुष्यते तत्र तत्र तदेवौचित्यं लक्षणमिति व्यवह्रियते भरतेन इति । परं तु तदिदमौचित्यं काव्यात्मभूतरसभावाद्याश्रयं शरीरभूतशब्दार्थाद्याश्रयं शरीरधर्मालङ्काराद्याश्रयं चेति बहुविधमियत्तया परिगणयितुमशक्यम् । तत्र शरीरतद्धर्माद्याश्रयाणामेव मुख्यतया लक्षणव्यपदेशः, लोके तथैव दृष्टत्वात् । तेषामप्यसंख्येयत्वेऽपि प्राधान्यात् षट्त्रिंशद्भेदाः परिगणिताः । अत एवोक्तमभिनवगुप्तपादैः—"षट्त्रिंशदिति च नान्यवारणपरम् ; कविहृदयवर्तिनामपरेषामसङ्ख्येयत्वात् । किन्तु बाहुल्येन तावदियता लक्ष्यं व्याप्तम् । इयति च कविनावधानवता भाव्यम्" इति [II, p. 298] ॥

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1. नाट्यशास्त्रसमीक्षायां प्रपञ्चितोऽयमर्थः । pp. 90-91.

THEORIES ABOUT ABLAUT

BY

C. R. SANKARAN

I do not intend to treat about Ablaut deliberately and in cold blood, nor am I going to give an exhaustive and final account of it, but I shall attempt to indicate how intimately the problem of Ablaut is related to the subject of my investigation and also point out, if possible, a new method of approach, giving an exposition of its general principles.

Brugmann[1] was the first to discuss this subject in its entirety. Among the several other earlier contributions on this subject, mention must be here made of

(1) Chr. Bartholomae's article Arm. *a* > griech. *o* und die Indogermanischen Vokalreihen in Volume XVII of Bezzenberger's *Beitrage* (1891), pp. 91-133.

(2) Kretschmer's Indogermanische accent-und lautstudien in Volume XXXI (1892) of Kuhn's Zeitschrift, p. 325-472.

(3) Bechtel's Hauptprobleme der indog Lautlehre.

(4) Streitberg's Die Entstehung der Dehnstufe in Volume III (1894) of Indogermanische Forschungen, pp. 305-416.

(5) C. D. Buck, Some general problems of Ablaut, in Volume XVII of the American Journal of Philology (1896), pp. 267-88.

Indogermanic Ablaut is indeed an intricate subject and is believed to be of accentual origin. It should have operated even in pro-ethnic times and various factors should have complicated

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1. *Grundriss*, Volume I, first edition 307-ff. Brugmann adopts the conclusions of some other investigators in the second edition of the *Grundriss* and in his *kurze grammatik* 210-ff. *See also* Wyld, *Historical study of the Mother Tongue*. For further bibliography, vide H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Ablaut*.

it.[1] Many problems closely associated with it are therefore shrouded in obscurity and they inevitably lead us to a pre-occupation with very early prehistoric times. The danger in dealing with such questions concerning changes in a period of Indogermanic development far beyond our control is clearly attested by the fact that Noreen[2] thinks it to be futile to set up a limited number of Ablaut series as the six which Brugmann recognises in his *Grundriss*. Noreen sets up sixteen varieties of vowel changes and makes them all co-ordinate. According to him the variations of *pēd*: *pōd*—(Lat. *pēs*: Doric. πώς, section 12), of *ped*— : *pod* (Lat. *pedes*: Grk. ποδός, section 13), of *ped*— : *pōd*-–(Lat. *pedis*: Dor. πώς, section 15), of *pēd*: *ped* (Lat. *pēs*: *pedis*, section 24) and of *pōd*: *pod*—(πώς: ποδός, section 26) are as independent and unrelated to another as is the variation *ā*: *a* (section 23) to any of these.[3] Likewise he combines the variation of *ē*: *ō* in τίθημι: θωμός with that of *vēnimus*: βωμός (section 12) and thus brings together things that ought to be kept distinctly apart[4] while in the former case he separates much that unquestionably belongs together.

The role Ablaut plays in the morphological development of the Indogermanic dialects is supremely important, in spite of limitations of its scope and utility. Jakob Grimm was the first to give the name Ablaut to an Indogermanic phenomenon of a very frequent interchange of a series of vowels with one another and the disappearance of a vowel from one word while it is present in another, in etymologically connected words.

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1. cf. Wright, Comparative Greek Grammar, section 84, p. 51.

2. Urgerm Lautlehre, 37-ff.

3. cf. "One may conjecture that ablatives with a reduced penultimate vowel (e.g. * * *pédəts* from the Ablaut base *pédotos*) played a role as well as genitives with a reduced radical vowel (e.g. * * *pədós* from the ablaut base * * *pedós*)"

Genitives in *es/os* and ablatives in *ets/ots* are as old as the Indo-Hittite period.

Vide, Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, 3.47, E. H. Sturtevant. *The ablative in Indo-European and Hittite.* Language, Volume VIII, 1932, p. 7.

4. C. D. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

As has already been pointed out, scholars believe that in most cases at least, accentual variation in cognate words in the parent speech should have been responsible for this vowel-variation known as Ablaut. When accent is exclusively the determining factor, the Ablaut phenomenon goes by the name of quantitative Ablaut, otherwise it is known as qualitative Ablaut.

Each word in the parent speech should have borne one chief accent[1] which was free[2]. This chief tone ('Hauptton') is generally represented by the vedic '*udātta*' or greek acute, and occasionally by the '*svarita*'. [Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik I, sections 246, 247. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar 86.]

Of the various types of Ablaut, for purposes of illustration, let the one in which *eu* is the normal form be chosen.

u, ū, eu, ou ēu, ōu [or *ū, ū, ue, uo, uē, uō*] are the variations in the order usually followed. The last four under the name of 'Hochstufen' and designated by 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively are contrasted with the first two under the name of 'Tiefstufen' or 'low grades'.

The syllable which bears the chief accent is strong and the vowel in such a case can take only a full-grade or strong-grade (Grade I) form.[3] 1 and 2 (*eu, ou*) are in a class by themselves even as 3 and 4 (*ēu, ōu*) which go by the name of 'Dehnstufen'

1. Hirt, Indogermanische Ablaut, 8, 45.
Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik I, 245d, 247.

2. Kurze Grammatik 41, Wright, Comparative Greek Grammar, section 30.

3. It was Ferdinand de Saussure (See *Mémoire sur le système primitif des Voyelles dans les langues indo—européennes* 96-116 [1879]=*Recueil des Publications Scientifiques* 90-109) who was responsible for the doctrine that Primitive Indo-European possessed a full-grade [accented] vowel *O*.

"This feature, like so many others of our reconstructed Primitive Indo-European, has within recent years come to stand in a very different light as a result of newly discovered linguistic material and the more or less general acceptance of layangeal hypothesis. Consequently the whole question must presently be re-examined".

See E. H. Sturtevant, "Hittite evidence against full-grade O" Language Vol. XIV, No. 2. April—June 1938. p. 105.

or lengthened grades.[1] For instance, strong grade *e* becomes *ē* (Grade IV); *eu* and *ēu* can also be brought together; likewise *ou* and *ōu*. Victor Henry uses the term 'deflected' for the O—forms[2] 'Reduktionsstufe' or reduced grade (Grade II) is thus named since owing to want of accent[3] the vowel appears in a reduced or weakened form before 'Gebrauchlauten' and entirely disappears before 'sonorlauten'.

The theory of this grade having originated in the so-called secondary accent was given up by Brugmann later, but is adhered to by Wright.[4] To illustrate, ə is the reduction of strong grade *ē* and weakened *e* or *no sound* is the reduction of strong grade *e*. According to Hirt, this is 'die erste schuwundstufe'.[5] His presupposition of an intermediate stage 'Reduktionsstufe' introduces needless complication. He himself admits it: "S. I and R. sind Zugleicher Zeit und nebeneinander ins Lebengetreten".[6] A second weakening of vowel results generally in its complete disappearance [Kurze Grammatik. 213 (1) f, 214; Hirt's 'die zweite Schwundstufe' Indogermanische Ablaut 38] which is known as the 'Schwundstufe' (Grade III).

There are cases where the circumstances which mark the Grade IV coexist with those that give rise to qualitative variation and these cases are brought under Grade V. showing for instance

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1. Kurze Grammatik, section 213(2) ; Hirt, Indogermanische Ablaut, 42.

2. C. D. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

3. Kurze Grammatik, 213 (1) (b) ; Hirt, Indogermanische Ablaut, 18 ff ; Wackernagel. Altindische Grammatik I, 69, 70.

4. Comparative Greek Grammar 85. *See also* B. K. Ray, The morphology of the old English Noun and the Verb traced from proethnic Indo-Germanic, p. 13.

5. Indogermanische Ablaut, section 7 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, section 38.

Edgerton in Language, Volume X.

"Sievere's Law and IE. Weak Grade Vocalism" 235 ff. especially p. 246, showed the insufficiency of the arguments adduced from Sanskrit for the existence of a schwa secundum [The reduced *a* and *e* are the schwa secundum which Hirt writes with the Russian character 6. cf. H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik Teil II.* pages 98-100.

ȍ (long ȍ with the *gegenton*) instead of short ò with the *gegenton* for the strong grade *e*.

The interchange between *e* and *o* (and according to some, also *a* and *o*) is known by the name of the qualitative Ablaut

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See also Roland G. Kent, *The Sounds of Latin* in Language Monographs, No. XII, Baltimore, 1932, p. 20, Section 4. f.n. 6] in Indo-European times. Walter Petersen (The evidence for Schwa Secundum in Latin and Greek, pages 39 ff. Language Volume XIV, No. 1, Jan.-March '38) points out that the evidence from Greek and Latin also is not conclusive and decisive enough to postulate the existence of Schwa Secundum.

In this connection, it may be interesting to note that De Saussure's doctrine was that Indo-European Shwa (ə) was a consonant. J. Kurylowicz adopts it while E. H. Sturtevant refutes it. [*cf.* De Saussure's *Mémoire sur le systeme Primitif des voyelles dans les Langues Indo-Européennes* 135=*Recueil des Publication Scientifiques* 127. Leipsick 1879 'Les effects du ə en Indoiranien'. *Prace Filologiczne*||. 201-43, 1927 'ə Indo-européen et *h* hittite' Symbolae Grammaticae Offerts à J. Rozwadowski 95-104 (1927). *See also* 'Quelque Problèmes Mètriques du Ṛgvēda' Rocznik Orientalistyczny 4. 196-218 (1928). 'Le type Védique gṛhāyáti' Étrennes de Linguistique Offertes á M. Émile Benvéniste 51-62 (1928). E. H. Sturtevant, Language 6. p. 158.

["The word 'Schwa' is taken from Hebrew grammatical literature where it designates a similar weak vowel. Sometimes it is also called the neutral vowel. But if the variety of sounds appearing in Greek is not due to mere form-analogy it would be incorrect to call it neutral". *See* p. 32. Balakrishna Ghosh, "Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit" Indian Research Institute Publications, Linguistic series—No. I. Calcutta 1937. *See also* "The German Language" by R. Priebsch and W. E. Collinson London 1934, p. 51.]

Cf. "All in all it is clear that the alleged evidence for *ɒ* both in Latin and Greek is either dubious or impossible. It is also clear that its existence is far from proved by the still more dubious evidence from other languages, particularly since Edgerton has shown that the alleged support from Sanskrit is also unreliable. We may conclude that if there was such a thing as a Schwa secundum, proof for its existence lies in the future, and that a totally different line of reasoning must be followed to establish it."

Walter Petersen, Schwa secundum in Latin and Greek, Language Volume XIV, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1938, p. 59.

over the origin of which obscurity hangs. Hirt assumes that *o* which appears in the place of *e* or *a* represents the grade of Indogermanic secondary accent 'Gegenton' (Grade VI).[1] Since we find the secondary accent shown in the table of sounds on page 146 of the *Kurze Grammatik,* we may safely guess that Brugmann too might have adopted this theory.[2]

Now the first three grades are based on accent. Among them again, general principles are illustrated by the first two. In special circumstances alone, we find grades 3 and 5. There is no clear-cut organic connection between different Ablaut grades. They are 'rather of a heterogeneous body of phenomena arbitrarily strung together'.[3]

Many later writers have followed the track of Streitberg[4] in his explanation of the lengthening in grade 4. Streitberg's object was clearly to demonstrate that the lengthened forms, including such as *ákārṣam,* go back to dissyllabic forms and simultaneously he also maintains the connection of the long weak forms with dissyllabic roots (*bhūtás bhávitum*) "Die vokallänge der Schwundstufe giebt aber Kunde Von der Gestalt der Vollstufe. Diese ist zweisilbig gewesen. Darauf deutet auch ausserdem aind.

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1. Hirt, Indogermanische Ablaut, 782, 783. *See also* for 'Gegenton' Brugmann, Kurze Grammatik, 213 (3).

Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, I, 68, 250; Giles, Comparative Philology, 92.

2. It is interesting to know that according to C. M. Lotspeich (Journal of English and Germanic Philology Vol. 16, 1917, p. 173) that "the Indo-Germanic ablaut *e, o,* arose, just as, did the so-called 'quantitative' ablaut from a reduction of stress, the *o* stage resulting from a *partial* reduction of the stress, representing an intermediate stage between *e* and the complete loss of the vowel".

3. *See* B. K. Ray, *op. cit.,* p. 16.

4. *Indogermanische Forschungen* III, pp. 305 ff. Giles, *op. cit.,* 265, note 2. Wyldt, Mother Toungue. Hirt, Indogermanische Ablaut, 42. Indogermanische Akzent, 144. Indogermanische Grammatik II, 66. Brugmann in Grundriss I, 314 adopts a sceptical attitude but in *Kurze Grammatik* 213 (2) adopts a neutral attitude.

See also Wright, Comp. Gk. Gram. 92.

See below. p. 14 also.

bhávitum, bhavitar—, bhavítra—" (*Indogermanische Forschungen* III, p. 385). It can be easily recognised that there is a special relationship between *ū* and *ēu*. There can be no doubt also that this variation of *ēu* (or *uē*): *ū* cannot be confined to roots of the heavy series. So, as C. D. Buck[1] says Streitberg's statement quoted above and his observations on pages 306-7 in the same article cannot be harmonised. Says Streitberg[2] "Hiermit ist aber ein neues Kriterium zur Scheidung ursprünglicher und gedehnter Langdiphthongs gegeben. Denn die durch Steigerung entstandnen Langdiphthonge haben sich von den primären dadurch deutlich ab, dass ihre schwundstufe regelmässig Kurzen vokal besitzt. Am schärfsten tritt diese Thatsache vielleicht bein S—Aorist hervor, wo neben den langen Vokalen des aktiven Indikativs ausnahmslos Kurzvokalische Schwundstufen erscheinen. Ein langer Schwundstufenvokal ist hier unerhort. Vgl. Z B. *ákṛši* neben *ákāršam*."

We meet with thee distinct kinds of variation :

(1) that of strong and weak, as *eu* : *u*;

(2) a qualitative change, as *eu*: *ou*;

(3) a quantitative variation, as *eu* : *ēu*.

C. D. Buck's[3] schematic representation of these is as follows:—

	Weak		Strong		
		normal			deflected
Short	*u*		*eu*	*ou*	
Long	*ū*		*ēu*	*ōu*	

On account of analogy with *e*: *ē* and *a*: *ā*, it so happens sometimes *u*: *ū* comes to be substituted for *u* : *eu*. There is every probability for the origination of the following in this manner. Skt. *dhīs*, genitive *dhiyas* *bhrūs*, genitive *bhruvas*, *gīr*, genitive *giras*, *pūr*, genitive *puras*.[4]

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1. *American Journal of Philology*, Volume XVII (1896), p. 269.
2. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Volume III, pp. 306-7.
3. AJP. 17, p. 269.
4. Bechtel, Hauptprobleme, 174.

Bartholomae, Arica I. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Volume I (1892), p. 183.

Streitberg, Die entstehung der Dehnstufe *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Voulme III (1894), pp. 334-5.

Slavic iteratives of denominative origin are interesting examples of secondary ablaut-variation. With simple verbs having *e* in the root-syllable were associated the denominatives with vowel *ĕ* in the root-syllable. Thus the interchange *e*: *ĕ* became typical. For instance *-tĕkati* iter to. *teka, tešti* 'flow', *-mĕtati* to *mešta, metati* 'throw', etc. Further, with verbs with *o* (iE *a* and *o*) are associated denominatives with *a* (=iE. *ā* and *ō*). So we get the variation *o*: *a*. For instance *-badati* to *boda, bosti* 'stab',—*ganjati* to *goniti*. The last word itself is an iterative of the 'causative' formation to *gnati, žena* 'strike'. "The variation of long and short vowel had in this way become so typical that from verbs with *ĭ* or *ŭ* arose iteratives with *i*, and *y*, as *čitati* 'read to *čĭta* 'count' *-sypati* to *sŭnati*. This was extended even to verbs with *ĭr*, the weak form *er*, as *birati* to *ăera, bĭrati* 'collect'."[1]

Skt. *cete*, Av. *saētē*. Greek κεῖται beside Av. *sāiti* is a good example in proethnic times of the opposite substitution. In the normal course of events Sanskrit *cīte* would have been expected, which would stand in the same relation to Av. *sāiti* as Sanskrit *sūte* to *sāuti*.

Schulze[2] notes Sanskrit *e* and *i* as two low-grade forms to *āi*—(J. Schmidt, Pluralbildung, 255). However from saying that it only holds the position of a weak form, it is clear that Schulze never intended to convey that the *e* is a real low-grade. It is very likely that we meet with similar phenomenon in the aorist forms like *aneṣi* to *anāiṣam*.[3]

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1. *Cf.* C. D. Buck, AJP. 17, p. 270.
   Leskien Handbuch d. altbulg. Spr., p. 15 f.

2. Indo-germanische *āi*-wurzelen. *Kuhn's zeitschrift* 27 1885, p. 422.

3. Johansson, Eine analoge neubildung der verbalflexion im *a* ind. und balt-slavischen. *Kuhn's zeitschrift* Band 32 (1893), p. 509.

No satisfactory answer is given to the question concerning the ultimate origin of Ablaut. Indeed here the ground is very slippery. It can be safely posited that three distinct causes must have been in operation and the distinction of the different types of variation may well have arisen in totally different periods of the parent speech. The cause for one kind of variation alone, *viz.*, the relation of Sanskrit *émi* to *imás* which reflects original conditions where by the loss of the (stress) accent the low-grade comes from the high-grade is perfectly clear. We are admittedly skating on thin ice in suggesting even tentative explanations for the other two types, in the absence of definite data, because they operated at a remoter period and hence were exposed longer to cross-influences.

The common belief with regard to the qualitative difference is that this too is due to accentual conditions on the strength of Greek πατηρ: ὁμο πά τωρ, δοτήρ: δώτωρ etc. But historical evidence is conflicting and the probability for a pitch accent to have such marked effect on the quality of vowels is very little.

Baudouin de Courtenay[1] suggests that the variation depends on the character of the following consonant, the *o* representing a depalatalization of the *e*. This is perhaps plausible on physiological grounds. But it is absurd to assume, for instance, that in the present **bherō* the palatal (because of the character of the following vowel !) *r* was generalised from the forms like **bhereto*, and in the perfect the non-palatal (again, because of the character of the following vowel !) *r* from **bebhora*, in view of the characteristic variation of *e* : *o* between present and perfect, i.e. **bherō*; *bebhora*.[2] By the first two grades (*eu*, *ou*), general principles are illustrated, but only in very special circumstances do the grades 3 and 5 (for instance *ēu* [grade 3] for the strong

1. J. Baundouin de Courtenay, Einiges über Palatalisierung (Palatalisation) and Entpalatalisierung (Dispalatalisation). *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1894, Vol. IV, pp. 45-57. *esp.* see II Urindogermanische Alternationeo, pp. 53-7.

2. It must be remembered that 'the qualitative ablaut appears to have been originally independent of the question of historical relationship between two words'. *Vide*, B. K. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-6. *Again see* "*e* originally stood in the chief accented syllable and *o* in the next following syllable." Wright, Comp. Gk. Gr. 83.

grade *eu* and *ò* [grade 5] for the strong grade *e*) make their appearance.

Streitberg published his 'epoch-making' treatise in the third volume of the Indogermanische Forschungen (p. 305 ff.) wherein he propounded his theory regarding the origin of the 'Dehnstufen' that the loss of a mora in a following syllable has been a most important factor in the production of the lengthened vowels. This theory was subjected to a valuable criticism by Bloomfield.[1]

There is absolutely no warrant for making the assumption that this mora-compensation was the sole factor in the lengthened grade. Only on pure conjecture is the following derivation based, Indogermanic **pətḗr* (Greek *πατήρ*. Sanskrit *pitā́*), from still older * **pətére*[2] on the analogy of Gk. *φώρ* from *ϛορόφ* *δαίμων* from *δαίμονα, ποιμήν, ποιμήν* from *ποιμένα.*[3]

A lengthening of this sort is never recognised by Brugmann as a feature of Indogermanic phonology (*cf.* K. Gr, 311). Nor do we meet such a phenomenon in the oldest Sanskrit. [Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar* 17 (5) f.n.] It is quite plausible that this grade is identical with the *Vṛddhi* phenomenon recognised in Sanskrit Grammar [Wackernagel, 60, 61 *et passim*; Macdonell, 22a; Hirt, Indogerm. Gr. II, 79. Brugmann K. Gr. 213 (1). Whitney's (239) is an older view].

(*To be continued*)

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1. Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol. XXVI.

2. Contra Whitney, 246, 371a.

3. Wright, Comp. Gk. Gram., 92a.

been taken to be a work of Jaimini by Mr. P. V. Kane.[1] It has to be pointed out that the extract on which Mr. Kane bases his information is capable of other interpretations. The Smṛti-Mīmāṁsā quotes a Smṛti verse of Jaimini, and Aparārka, not having probably seen the work of Jaimini, says that the verse belongs to Jaimini, on the authority of the citation in the Smṛti-Mīmāṁsā. It need not therefore necessarily mean that Jaimini composed the Smṛti-Mīmāṁsā. Moreover no old writer like Jaimini is seen to have named his work in this form. The Smṛti of Jaimini has been extensively used by several writers—Vijñāneśvara, Hemādri, etc.

Jaimini is said to have been born in Dvaitavana, the modern Deoband about 50 miles to the north of Meerut in the Saharanpur District of the United Provinces.[2] Personal anecdotes of Jaimini have been narrated in the Bṛhatkathā and they have been referred to by Dr. Keith and others. Those facts are therefore not repeated here.

It has already been remarked that Jaimini must have been a contemporary of Bādarāyaṇa. Mr. Nilakantha Sastri refers in the paper cited above to the various traditions that record the fact that Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyaṇa. But he could not, however, accept the validity of those traditions since he believed that Jaimini, the author of the Mīmāṁsāsūtras should have been older than the Bādarāyaṇa of the Vedāntasūtras. If we agree with what has been said above that the Jaimini referred to in the Brahmasūtras need not be different from the author of the Mīmāṁsāsūtras, the question may be raised, *viz.*, whether, what is recorded in tradition that Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyaṇa is

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other places Hemādri quotes some other verses in the name of Jaimini (pp. 203, 583, Pariśeṣa II).

1. *See* Page 334 of the History of Dharmaśāstra by P. V. Kane.

2. *See* Page 58 of the Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, by Nundolal Dey, M.A., B.L.

trustworthy. It may at once be answered, "Yes, unless there be definite proof to the contrary".

In this connection the remarks of Parameśvara cited above on page one ante may be referred to, as also the following verses found on pages 19 and 20 of the Mīmāṁsāsūtrārthasaṅgraha of Parameśvara:—

नेदं केवलमस्माभिः स्वकपोलप्रकल्पितम् ।
अस्मद्गुरोर्भगवतो व्यासस्यैव मतं त्विदम् ॥
इत्येवमुक्तस्यार्थस्य मूलवक्तप्रसिद्धये ।
गुरुप्रसादलब्धत्वख्यापनार्थं च वस्तुतः ॥
कृतं सूत्रकृता सूत्रे बादरायणकीर्तनम् ।
न तु स्वकीयसिद्धान्तपर्युदासप्रयोजनम् ॥
ज्ञापकं चैतदेवास्य जैमिनेः सूत्रनिर्मितौ ।
पाराशर्यप्रयुक्तत्वे तस्मात् सुष्ठूपवर्णितम् ॥

The same tradition is recorded in a work called Śāstropanyāsamālikā of Subrahmaṇya. He tells us that Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyaṇa in the following words:

अथ बादरायणः पुनः अतिप्रबलकलिमलध्वस्तबुद्धीनां जनानामागामिनीमवस्थां प्रागेव शास्त्रचक्षुषावलोक्य सकलवेदवाक्यगताज्ञानसंशय........महाननर्थसंदोहः संबोभवीति इति मन्वानो विद्याविनयादिभिः स्वशिष्येषु प्रधानभूतं जैमिनिमाहूय पूर्वमीमांसायां सूत्राणि प्रणेतुमादिदेश । स्वयमेवोत्तरमीमांसायां सूत्राणि च प्रणिनाय । अथ जैमिनिः पुनः अवनतेन शिरसा देशिकादेशमुपादाय दर्भपवित्रपाणिः प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य द्वादशभिरध्यायैः षष्ट्या पादैः सहस्रेणाधिकरणेन च स .... दं सकलवेदवाक्यगताज्ञानसंशयविपर्ययव्युदासक्षमं मीमांसासूत्रं प्रणेतुकामः श्रोतृप्रवृत्त्यङ्गभूते विषयप्रयोजने मीमांसायाम् अधिकारिणं संबन्धं च निर्दिशन्....आद्येनाधिकरणेन इति सूत्रावतारप्रकारः ॥

It may, therefore, be taken that Bādarāyaṇa was a contemporary of Jaimini until very strong evidence is brought to the notice of scholars to the effect that they could not have been contemporaries.

What then is his date? Professor Jacobi of Bonn University, in the course of an article on the "Dates of Indian Philosophical systems"[1] remarks that the earliest date to which Jaimini may be ascribed may not go beyond the second century of the Christian era. Since the author of the Brahmasūtras knew the Śūnyavāda which was maintained by Nāgārjuna who lived in the 2nd century A. D., the sūtras cannot be dated back beyond the 2nd century. It should have been composed between 200 and 400 A. D. The Mīmāṁsāsūtras 'are about as old as, or rather somewhat older than, the Nyāya-darśana and Brahma sūtras'.

The basis on which Professor Jacobi argues is very weak. Simply because certain views are refuted in a particular work, that work need not be considered later than a text containing those views. The only reasonable inference is that the particular view is older than the work wherein it finds a place. The view propounded need not necessarily be found stated expressly by an earlier writer. In fact, in olden days, ideas came to be recorded in definite works after a good deal of controversy over them for centuries together. Would it be proper to say that the ideas did not exist at all before the works embodying them came to be prominent? Is it proper to argue that words came to have those meanings assigned to them only after they were recorded in dictionaries? Prof. Jacobi is himself prepared to admit that the Śūnyavāda did not spring up at an auspicious moment from the pen of Nāgārjuna. Nāgārjuna only recorded in a cogent form the philosophy of nihilism. It is worthy of note in this connection that in works earlier than Nāgārjuna's, *i.e.*, the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka etc. we find the elements of the later Śūnyavāda; the elements of Vijñānavāda could be traced back to some of the oldest Upaniṣads. It is therefore impossible to contend, on the basis of arguments like these, that the author of the Vedānta and Mīmāṁsāsūtras should be regarded as later than Nāgārjuna.

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1. *See* Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XXXIII.

In a paper[1] on the "Date of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and some of his Predecessors" it has been stated that the earliest commentary on the sūtras of Jaimini should have belonged to the period anterior to Patañjali. The date of Patañjali need not be discussed here, for it is almost settled now that he was living about 150 B. C. This will certainly push back the date of Jaimini by at least a century or even two. It is absolutely impossible to push down the date of Jaimini to a period later than 150 B. C. The upper limit is hard to fix; it has been said that the earliest known commentary should have come into existence after Kātyāyana and before Patañjali. The date of Kātyāyana is not definitely known at present. Assuming with the majority of scholars that he lived about 350 B. C., we may postulate the upper limit of the date of the commentator, Upavarṣa, the Vṛttikāra. The sūtrakāra may have been older. The date of the sūtrakāra therefore will fall between 500 and 300 B. C.[2] This may come as a surprise to those that are familiar with the article of Professor Jacobi just referred to.

One more point regarding the date of Jaimini has to be discussed in this connection. Āpastamba, the famous sūtrakāra of the Yajurveda, seems to have been familiar with the Mimāṁsā-sūtras of Jaimini. His Adhyātmapaṭala, commented upon by Śrī Śaṅkara, shows a clear knowledge of the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa and since he was a contemporary of Jaimini, we have every reason to believe that Āpastamba knew the sūtras of Jaimini. Among the available Śrautasūtras, those of Āpastamba and Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin show verbal similarities in certain places. But here again, the same reasoning may hold good, *i.e.*, that Āpastamba could have taken the ideas, not from the works of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, but from tradition. It is also possible that most of the ideas recorded by Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa were

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1. *See* P. 40 and ff. of Vol. III, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

2. It is therefore impossible to agree with Dr. Keith who places the sūtrakāra about 200 A. D. *See* Karmamīmāṁsā, Page 7.

handed down to them through the works of others. Āpastamba too may have taken his ideas from such writers, but we are not sure. This point has to be very carefully investigated before we can arrive at any conclusion, but the material for investigation is scanty.

A few remarks on the text of Jaimini's sūtras may not be out of place in this connection. The text of the sūtras as preserved to us is represented by the Bhāṣya of Śabarasvāmin. But several differences in the text have come to notice since the days of Śabarasvāmin. Kumārilabhaṭṭa remarks in several places in his commentaries that Śabarasvāmin adopted different readings in some sūtras. He also invites attention to the fact that, in the text which Śabarasvāmin had before him, some sūtras were missing. Later writers up to the time of Appayyadīkṣita refer to differences in the text of the sūtras as adopted by Śabarasvāmin and Kumārilabhaṭṭa respectively. The differences in the reading of the most important of the sūtras have been set forth as appendix II to this thesis.

Dr. Mangal Deva Sastri, in the course of an article[1] entitled "Metrical basis of the Mīmāṁsāsūtras of Jaimini", opines that Jaimini should have had before him a metrical text dealing with the principles of Pūrvamīmāṁsā and that Jaimini recast them in the form of sūtras. He adduces elaborate arguments for this contention and gives as it were statistics of the number of verses, half-verses and quarter-verses that are to be met with in the extant sūtras of Jaimini. Dr. Mangal Deva Sastri is of opinion that these metrical reminiscences are indicative of the fact that Jaimini had a metrical text before him. However, his arguments do not carry conviction. The only reasonable conjecture can be that early sūtrakāras composed the sūtras, which may be styled *padyagandhi*.

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1. *See* p. 842 to 854 in the "Proceedings of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference", Lahore.

CHAPTER III.

COMMENTATORS ON JAIMINI.

It has already been remarked that the earliest commentary on the sūtras of Jaimini should have come into existence about 200 B. C. That commentary seems to have been called a vṛtti, and Upavarṣa was the author of that vṛtti. But unfortunately that vṛtti is lost to us at present. Besides that of Upavarṣa, there seem to have existed other vṛttis, like those of Bhavadāsa, Bhartṛmitra and others. We come across many references to the vṛtti under the name 'Vṛtti' and we have no means of identifying those references and attribute them to any specific author. There are references to a vṛttyantara and it is not known who wrote it either. Besides these we come across references to a Bhāṣyāntara on the sūtras. The word Bhāṣyāntara is used by commentators to distinguish such commentary from that of Śabarasvāmin. All these writers are older than Śabarasvāmin, and the little information that could be gathered about them is bound to be incomplete. Very great care has therefore to be taken in presenting the available facts, without much of unnecessary speculation.

Vṛttikāra.

The following references are found in the Bhāṣya of Śabarasvāmin to the Vṛttikāra :—

1. वृत्तिकारस्त्वन्यथेमं ग्रन्थं वर्णयांचकार तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिरित्येवमादिम् । I-i-5.

2. सामर्थ्यमभिधानं तच्चैतद्वृत्तिकारेणोदाहरणोपदेशेनाख्यातम् । II-i-37.

3. यस्यैतल्लक्षणं न भवति तद्ब्राह्मणम् इति परिशेषसिद्धं ब्राह्मणम् । वृत्तिकारस्तु शिष्यहितार्थं प्रपञ्चितवान् । II-i-33.

4. अत एव वृत्तिकारेणोक्तं होमाश्रितो गुणः फलं साधयिष्यति इति । II-ii-26.

5. वृत्तिकारवचनात् प्रतिज्ञां चावगच्छामः । अत्र भगवानाचार्य इदमुदाहृत्य 'वत्समालभेत, वत्सनिकान्ता हि पशवः' इतीमं संशयमुपन्यस्यति स्म "किं यजिमदभिधान एष आलभतिः उतालम्भनमात्रवचनः" इति ।
II-iii-26.

6. अथेदानीमत्रभवान् वृत्तिकारः परिनिश्चिकाय द्रव्यगुण-संस्कारेष्वेव नियतो यजिं प्रति शेषभावः आपेक्षिक इतरेषाम् । यागस्य द्रव्यं प्रति प्रधानभावः, फलं प्रति गुणभावः, फलस्य यागं प्रति प्राधान्यम्, पुरुषं प्रति गुणता । पुरुषस्य फलं प्रति प्रधानता, औदुम्बरीसंमानादि प्रति गुणत्वम् । तस्मात् संमता अवधारणा द्रव्यगुणसंस्कारा यागं प्रति नियोगतो गुणभूता एव इति ।

7. वृत्तिकारस्तु मेने गानशास्त्रम् औक्थिक्यम् अनर्थकं स्यात् इति ।
VII-ii-6.

8. प्रतिपदाख्याने तु गौरवं परिहरद्भिः वृत्तिकारैः सर्वसामान्य-शब्दः परिगृहीतः प्रकृतिवत् इति । VIII-i-2.

9. तदुक्तं वृत्तिकारेण "न वा शब्दपूर्वको हि अर्थसंप्रत्ययः तस्मादर्थनिष्पत्तिः" इति । X-ii-23.

In the Ślokavārtika of Kumārila we find the following references to the Vṛttikāra :—

1. प्रसिद्धहानिः शब्दानामप्रसिद्धे च कल्पना ।
न कार्या वृत्तिकारेण सति सिद्धार्थसंभवे ॥ p. 12.

2. प्रतिज्ञामात्रमित्येतत् जैमिनेर्मतमुच्यते ।
वृत्तिकारोऽधिकं वापि भूतादिद्वारमब्रवीत् ॥ p. 138.

3. असामर्थ्यं च मत्वास्य वृत्तिकारेण लक्षणे ।
तत्संप्रयोग इत्येवं पाठान्तरमुदाहृतम् ॥ p. 136.

4. परलोकफलाः पूर्वमाक्षिप्ताश्चोदनाः परैः ।
इदानीमैहिकाक्षेपः सूत्रकारेण चोद्यते ॥

Pārthasārathimiśra while commenting on this verse observes—

इदानीं तु **वृत्तिकार**मतेन सूत्रार्थतया आक्षेपं दर्शयति ॥ p. 493.

5. वैदिको व्यवहारस्तु न कर्तृस्मरणादृते ।
दुर्गेषु गवि गोशब्दप्रयोगे गम्यते कथम् ॥

and Pārthasārathimiśra remarks on this verse:—

अव्यतिरेकश्चेति सूत्रं **वृत्तिकारेण** द्विधा व्याख्यातम् । p. 677.

6. न साधनप्रयोगोऽयं सूत्रकारेण रच्यते ।
वृत्तिकारेण चार्थस्तु योग्यो द्वाभ्यां निरूपितः ॥ p. 109.

In the Tantravārtika of Kumārilasvāmin we find the following references to the Vṛttikāra:—

1. तत्र यद्**वृत्तिकारो**दाहरणं पार्वणस्थालीपाकविषयगृह्यकारवचनश्रवणात् दर्शपूर्णमासचरककल्पसूत्रकारवचनाध्यारोपेण दत्तं तदत्यन्ताध्यारोपाभिभवाभिप्रायप्रयुक्तमित्यनादृतम् ॥ p. 117.

2. यथोक्तं **वृत्तिकारेण** होमाश्रितो गुणः फलं साधयिष्यति इति । p. 552.

3. **वृत्तिकार**मतेन सूत्रचतुष्टयमन्यथा व्याख्यास्यन्नाह—अत्र भगवानिति ॥ p. 674.

4. इह तु एतद्ग्रन्थान्यथानुपपत्त्यैव त्रयः पक्षाः क्रमवन्तः हृदये **वृत्तिकारस्य** विपरिवर्तमाना गम्यन्ते ॥ p. 935.

In the Bṛhatī of Prabhākaramiśra we find the following references to the Vṛttikāra:—

1. अत एव **वृत्तिकारो**दाहरणप्रपञ्चोक्तिरपि नैव मृष्यते भाष्यकारेण । II-i-31, p. 502.
2. **वृत्तिकार**मतोपन्यासस्तु पूर्ववद्द्रष्टव्यः । II-i-32, p. 503.
3. **वृत्तिकारवचनं** किंपरम् ? II-ii-26, p. 604.
4. तथा च दर्शितं **वृत्तिकारवचनात्** विषयमवगच्छामः । II-iii-16, p. 641:42.
5. **वृत्तिकार**मतोपन्यासः पूर्वपक्षात्परिज्ञानार्थः । III-i-6, p. 677.

There are also other references to the Vṛttikāra in works like:—

1. Uṁveka's commentary on the Ślokavārtika,
2. Śāstradīpikā and its commentaries,
3. Nayaviveka and its commentaries,
4. The Ajitā,
5. Mīmāṁsānyāyakośa,
6. Adhvaramīmāṁsākutūhalavṛtti,
7. Ṣoḍaśādhyāyīṭippaṇa,
8. Mīmāṁsāsūtrārthasaṅgraha etc.

Such of those references as are important in these works have been collected in appendix III.

Vṛttyantara.

Besides Upavarṣa's vṛtti, there seems to have been in existence another vṛtti. The name of the author of that vṛtti is not preserved but there are several references to it. The references are sometimes to the Vṛttyantara and at other times to the Vṛttyantarakāra. They are:—

From the Ślokavārtika.

1. वृत्त्यन्तरेषु केषांचिल्लौकिकार्थव्यतिक्रमः ।
शब्दानां दृश्यते तेषामुपालम्भोऽयमुच्यते ॥ p. 11.

In commenting on the above passage, Pārthasārathimiśra observes:—

वृत्त्यन्तरेष्विति । केषांचित् भवदासादीनां वृत्त्यन्तरेषु । p. 11.

2. अनुमानादभिन्नत्वान्नोक्तौ जयपराजयौ ।
वध्यघातकभावेन यौ सर्पनकुलादिषु ॥ p. 413.

Pārthasārathimiśra observes on this verse as follows:—

वृत्त्यन्तरे सर्पनकुलयोरेकस्य जयमन्यस्य पराजयं वा दृष्ट्वा इतरत्र जयपराजयकल्पनमर्थापत्त्युदाहरणं दत्तम् । तत्किं भाष्यकारेण नोक्तम् ? अत आह—अनुमानादिति । p. 463.

From the Tantravārtika.

3. **वृत्त्यन्तरे** तु अत्रैव मन्त्रवर्णोऽप्युदाहृतः । p. 332.

4. **वृत्त्यन्तरे** तु चत्वार्येव भेदकारणानि शब्दान्तरसंज्ञागुणफलानि उदाहृतानि । p. 625-26

5. **वृत्त्यन्तरकारै**स्तु सर्वैः व्याख्यातानि । p. 915.

From the Śāstradīpikā and its commentaries.

6. तदिदं **वृत्तिकारान्तर**व्याख्यानम् अधिकरणस्यानुपपन्नमिति मन्वानेन भाष्यकारेण व्यख्यानान्तरमारब्धम् । p. 728.

7. ऐकाधिकरण्यमते तु सूत्रान्यथाकरणं भाष्यकारेण दर्शितम् । p. 867.

On this passage Somanātha observes as follows:—

कथं **वृत्त्यन्तरकारैः** एकाधिकरणमङ्गीकृतम् इत्यत्राह–एकेति । p. 867.

8. नन्वत्र **वृत्तिकारान्तरो**दाहृतम् "गोदोहनेन पशुकामस्य" इत्येतद्वाक्यमिति क्रमे "दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्य" इत्येतदुदाहरणे को हेतुः ।

Yuktisnehaprapūraṇi, p. 95, (R. 4170).

9. **वृत्तिकारान्तरै**रेतत्सूत्रमर्थवादप्रामाण्येन, तदेकवाक्यतया साकाङ्क्षत्वात् विध्युद्देशस्यापि अप्रामाण्यापत्तेः । p. 6.

10. इति चेदिति पदद्वयं भाष्यकारेणापठितमपि **वृत्त्यन्तरे** दृष्टत्वात् वार्त्तिककृता पठितम् । p. 487.

11. कथमिति भाष्यं **वृत्त्यन्तरो**क्तसन्देहकारणनिरासार्थम् इति दर्शयितुं स्वरूपतस्तावद्व्याचष्टे । p. 524.

12. यच्च **वृत्त्यन्तरकारैः** आरभतेः णिजन्तात् अच्प्रत्ययमुत्पाद्य आरम्भयति प्रवर्तयति इत्यारम्भकं प्रवर्तकं वाक्यं चोदना इति चोदनास्वरूपकथनार्थतया एतत्सूत्रं व्याख्यातम्............यो भाष्यकृतोक्तः सूत्रार्थः स एव युक्तः न **वृत्त्यन्तरकारो**क्तः । p. 612.

13. **वृत्त्यन्तरकृत**समवायिविशेषव्याख्यात्यागेन भाष्यकृतोऽन्यथा व्याख्या हेतूक्त्यै ; तां दूषयितुमुपन्यस्यति—तत्रेति । ....या चाङ्गगुणविरोधन्यायात् बहिरङ्गस्य बाध्यता **वृत्त्यन्तरकारै**रुक्ता साप्ययुक्ता इत्याह—p. 66-67.

(Paged separately.)

It is not known at this stage of our knowledge who this Vṛttyantarakāra is. He might have been identical with any one of the authors of the Vṛttis referred to just now; or he may turn out to be different. In one place Bhavadāsa is referred to as the Vṛttyantarakāra.

These extracts from the Vṛttikāra and the Vṛttyantarakāra do not help us much in reconstructing the literary history of Mīmāṁsā in the period prior to Śabarasvāmin. Many of these extracts could have been taken from the works of the authors to be mentioned presently; but in the case of many other extracts we cannot say definitely from which of the commentaries they have been taken.

We may now proceed to speak about the various commentators who preceded Śabarasvāmin.

Upavarṣa.

Upavarṣa is the earliest of the commentators referred to by name. The following are the passages where Upavarṣa is found mentioned specifically.

1. गकारौकारविसर्जनीया इति भगवानुपवर्षः ।

Śābarabhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 13 (B. I.).

In the Tantravārtika.

2. तदिह भगवानुपवर्षः किल अग्निहोत्रे धेनुदोहाधिकारे श्रुतमिदं वाक्यमुदाहृतवान् । etc. p. 607.

In the Śāstradīpikā and Commentaries.

3. वृत्तिकारस्त्वन्यथेमं वर्णयांचकार इत्येवमादिना उपवर्षमतेन । p. 45.

4. उपवर्षस्तु वृत्तिकारो बह्वृचब्राह्मणे अमावास्यायामपि उपांशुयाजो विहित इति । p. 95.

5. अयं च गोस्मरणस्य इत्यन्तो भाष्यग्रन्थः उपवर्षसंमत एव भाष्यकारेण लिखितत्वात् टीकाकारादिभिः भाष्यत्वेनैवोच्यते । p. 74.

(Somanātha).

In the Ṣoḍaśādhyāyīṭippaṇa the same topic as mentioned above in 4 is referred to in the name of Upavarṣa (Adyar p. 457, Vol. I).

I have elsewhere[1] said that Upavarṣa was older than Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya. A corroborative evidence may be seen in the tradition recorded in the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Bṛhatkathā. It is said that Upavarṣa was the father-in-law of Kātyāyana. Upakośā was his daughter and she was given in marriage to Kātyāyana. Upavarṣa had also a brother by name Varṣa. The genealogy of Upavarṣa may be shown as follows:—

Śaṅkarasvāmin
- Upavarṣa
  - Upakośā = Kātyāyana.
- Varṣa

Regarding the nativity of Upavarṣa, we have little information. The Kathāsaritsāgara tells us that Varṣa and Upavarṣa were living at Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna. The same tradition is recorded in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā[2] of Rājaśekhara, where we find

श्रूयते च पाटलिपुत्रे शास्त्रकारपरीक्षा—

अत्रोपवर्षवर्षौ इह पाणिनिपिङ्गलौ इह व्याडिः ।
वररुचिपतञ्जली इह परीक्षिताः ख्यातिमुपजग्मुः ॥

This leads to the inference that he might have had something to do with Pāṭaliputra.

In this connection mention may be made of an Upavarṣa[3], who is referred to in the Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, as the following rendering of an extract from that work shows. "Upavarṣa and others have laid down that when one has performed the

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1. *See* Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. III, pp. 51-3.

2. *See* Kāvyamīmāṁsā, p. 55 (Gaekwad Oriental series).

3. *See* Dr. Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Skt Mss. 1833-84.

ceremony of the inauguration of the sacred fire, he should feed a hundred Brahmins, but this is not prescribed in other sūtras".

"The Uśijas, Vāmadevas, and Dīrghatamasas are Gautamas *i. e.*, branches of the Gautama race according to the reading of Upavarṣa and others, and consequently they should not intermarry but may have connection with the Bhāradvājas".

In the Prayogaratnamālā[1] of Cauṇḍapācārya we find the following reference to Upavarṣa :—

उपवर्षादिभिः प्रोक्तमाधाने शतभोजनम् ।

The extract states the opinion of Upavarṣa regarding the feeding of Brāhmins. This view of Upavarṣa is identical with that of the first of the views cited above from the Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana.

Now who is this Upavarṣa ? Is he identical with the Vṛttikāra on the Vedānta and Mīmāṁsā Sūtras ? The answer is a plain "we do not know" though it is likely that the two might have been identical.

Upavarṣa wrote commentaries on both the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṁsās and there are references to both of the commentaries though neither is available. Some scholars think that Kṛtakoṭi is the name of the Vṛtti of Upavarṣa[2]. That this is not correct and that Kṛtakoṭi was another name of Upavarṣa himself will be elucidated in a later section of this thesis, while dealing with the Prapañcahṛdaya and the contents of that work.

In the Tantravārtika[3] there is a reference to Upavarṣa under the name Mahābhāṣyakāra.

ततश्च तृतीयार्थासिद्धिरिति मत्वा महाभाष्यकारेण उक्तं तृतीयायाः स्थाने द्वितीया इति ॥

At first sight it may look like a reference to Patañjali; but as a matter of fact it is not a reference to him, but only a refer-

1. Prayogaratnamālā, G. O. Mss., R. 795, p. 21.
2. *See* Journal of Indian History, Madras, Vol. VII, pp. 107-115.
3. *See* p. 390.

ence to Upavarṣa. The Nyāyasudhā makes the point clear. The following extract from the Nyāyasudhā is worthy of notice.

या परीष्टिर्निमित्तानां कर्तव्येत्युपवर्णिता ।

सा महाभाष्यकारेण न कर्तव्येति वर्णिता ॥

इत्युपवर्षे महाभाष्यकारशब्दप्रयोगाच्च एवं व्याख्यातः ॥[1]

The only other Bhāṣya that is known to us by the name Mahābhāṣya is that of Patañjali on the vārtikas of Kātyāyana. It is not unlikely that the name Mahābhāṣya, given to Upavarṣa's work, suggested a similar title to Patañjali's great work.

It is worthy of note that Parameśvara in his Sūtrārthasaṅgraha refers to Upavarṣa as Mahābhāṣyakāra in the following extract.

तथा सति वृत्तिकारग्रन्थाद्यात्मवादावसानस्य ग्रन्थस्यायुक्तत्वप्रसङ्गात् वैपरीत्यं वा किं न स्यात् महाभाष्यकारवर्णितत्वात् यथा गकारौकारविसर्जनीया इति भगवानुपवर्ष इति[2] ॥

Several extracts are found under the name Bhāṣyāntara and it may be conjectured that at least some of them formed part of the work of Upavarṣa.

So late as the 17th century, a Vedāntic writer, Bhāskara Dīkṣita by name, states in the opening pages of his Ātmatattvaparīkṣā that he first states the views of Upavarṣa and then criticises those views in the light of the Vedānta of Śrī Śaṅkara. He says :—

तत्र प्रथमं प्रकरणदशकेन भगवदुपवर्षदर्शितन्यायकलापैः अद्वैतवाद्युपन्यस्तयोः शास्त्रारम्भोपयोगि etc.[3]

Bodhāyana.

Śrī Rāmānuja refers in the opening passages of his Śrībhāṣya, to Bodhāyana as a commentator of venerable antiquity,

1. Nyāyasudhā, p. 632.
2. *See* p. 48.
3. G. O. Mss. Library, R. 786.

on both the Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Uttaramīmāṁsāsūtras. The passage itself runs thus:—

भगवद्बोधायनकृतां विस्तीर्णां ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तिं etc.

and

संहितमेतच्छारीरकं जैमिनीयेन षोडशलक्षणेन ।

Without doubt the passage in question states in unambiguous terms that Bodhāyana wrote on both systems. Among orthodox Pandits the belief is current that this Bodhāyana should have been identical with the author of the Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras. That Bodhāyana was a Vṛttikāra is referred to by other writers on Viśiṣṭādvaita, as for instance Yāmunācārya and others. One fact is worthy of consideration in this connection and that has been set out by my professor, Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, in an article published in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference[1], Madras. He has shown that according to Vedānta Deśika, one of the greatest authorities on Viśiṣṭādvaita, Bodhāyana was another name of Upavarṣa.

In an article entitled "Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa"[2] Mr. Rangaswami Sarasvati makes a number of observations regarding Upavarṣa and they will be succinctly dealt with in a further section of this thesis, while dealing with the authenticity of the work called Prapañcahṛdaya. The remarks of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on this point will be discussed in that section.

Bhavadāsa.

Bhavadāsa is another commentator on the sūtras of Jaimini in the pre-Śabara days. The earliest writer who gives us any information regarding Bhavadāsa is Kumārilabhaṭṭa. The work of Bhavadāsa did not probably go into oblivion till the days of Pārthasārathimiśra. The following references to Bhavadāsa are worthy of consideration:—

1. *See* p. 467.

2. *See* Journal of Indian History, Madras, Vol. VII, pp. 107-115.

1. वृत्त्यन्तरेषु केषांचित् etc. (Śloka V, p. 11.)

In commenting on this passage Pārthasārathimiśra observes:— केषांचित् भवदासादीनां वृत्त्यन्तरेषु ।

2. प्रदर्शनार्थामित्येके केचिन्नानार्थवाचिनः ।
समुदायादवच्छिद्य भवदासेन कल्पितात् ॥ (Śloka V, p. 21.)

3. वर्ण्यते सूत्रभेदेन येन प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् ।
तेन सूत्रस्य सम्बन्धो वाच्यः पूर्वप्रतिज्ञया ॥ (Śloka V, p. 133.)

On this verse Pārthasārathimiśra observes:—

भवदासेन एतत्सूत्रं [सत्संप्रयोगे etc.] सत्संप्रयोगे इत्येवमादि तत्प्रत्यक्षम् इत्येवमन्तं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् अनिमित्तमित्यादि च तस्य धर्मं प्रत्यनिमित्तत्वपरं व्याख्यातम् । तदुपन्यस्य दूषयति वर्ण्यत इति । p. 134-35.

4. तर्हि भवदासपक्षेऽपि लक्षणस्यानुमानादौ अतिव्याप्तिः न स्यात् । स्यादिति ब्रूमः । Nyāyaratnākara, p. 139.

5. भवदासेन हि सता संप्रयोग इत्युक्तम् । संप्रयोगशब्दश्च सकलसंबन्धवचनो व्याख्यातः । Nyāyaratnākara, p. 145.

6. भवदासेन चोक्तम्—
"अथात इत्ययं शब्द आनन्तर्ये प्रयुज्यते"
Sucaritamiśra, p. 13. T.S.S.

7. उक्तं च भवद्भिरपि भवदासदूषणावसरे ।
Sucaritamiśra, p. 211.

That Bhavadāsa preceded Śabara[1] is clear from the remarks of Sucaritamiśra on p. 13, in his comments on the verse—

1. The statement of Dr. Keith, *i.e.*, "The name of the Vṛttikāra is uncertain. The conjecture that he was Bhavadāsa, mentioned in one place by Kumārila may be dismissed as wholly without support. . . . . The current opinion makes him to be Upavarṣa. . . . . If this view is rejected, it is possible that he

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

Q. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

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